

**ASSESSMENT OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITE  
38CH2244, MULLET HALL PLANTATION,  
JOHNS ISLAND, CHARLESTON COUNTY,  
SOUTH CAROLINA**



**Chicora Research Contribution 582**

# **ASSESSMENT OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITE 38CH2244, MULLET HALL PLANTATION, JOHNS ISLAND, CHARLESTON COUNTY, SOUTH CAROLINA**

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**CHICORA RESEARCH CONTRIBUTION 582**



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# Introduction

## Previous Archaeological Investigations

Initial investigations, consisting of a reconnaissance level study, were conducted in 1994 (Adams and Trinkley 1994:31), but 38CH2244 was not identified until the intensive survey in 2008 (Trinkley et al. 2008:153-155). The site was reported as a prehistoric scatter with eighteenth to twentieth century remains in an area measuring about 250 feet north-south by 500 feet east-west (Figure 1).

A total of 85 shovel tests were excavated at 50-foot intervals with 28 producing artifacts (33%). All of the artifacts were identified in the plowzone, which was about a foot in depth. Some tests were taken to 2.7 feet below surface with no results.

All of the prehistoric remains consisted of small sherds (under 1-inch in diameter), so they could not be attributed to a specific time period and were not considered a contributing element in the consideration of eligibility.

In contrast, the historic artifacts included primarily eighteenth century colono ware, although some twentieth century materials were recovered at the western edge of the site, next to the creek.

The 2008 assemblage was dominated by the kitchen artifacts, which account for 57% of the collection. If only historic remains are considered, kitchen items comprise fully 90% of the collection. Architectural and activity-related items account for the remainder of the assemblage.

Relatively little attention was devoted to the late nineteenth and early twentieth century remains, which were assumed to represent a much later tenant occupation. Little discussion of this

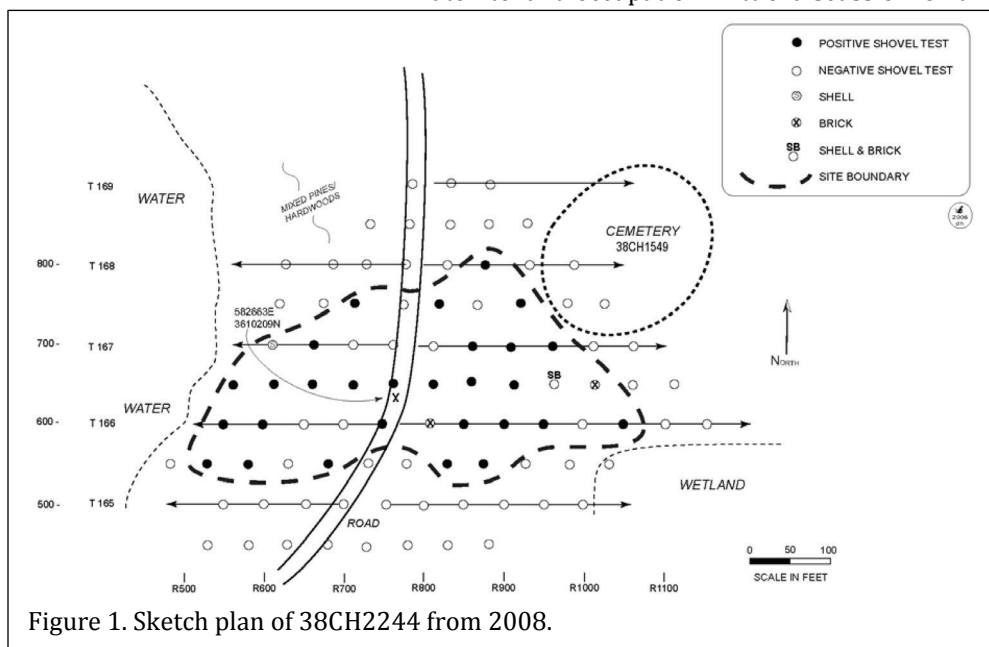


Figure 1. Sketch plan of 38CH2244 from 2008.

assemblage was provided, but like the prehistoric it was not thought to be a contributing element of the site's National Register eligibility.

Additional testing was recommended, primarily for feature recovery and further refinement of the site's function and occupants.

## Historical Synthesis

Mullet Hall did not produce an abundance of early historic documentation. Further complicating explanations, the original study tract was historically made up of four plantations: Mullet Hall, "Home Place," Rosebank, and The Oaks. Site 38CH1543, however, was situated on Mullet Hall.

We believe that the 600± acre tract was acquired by Anthony Mathews (also Mathewes, Matthews), possibly in 1727 from Richard Floyd (DB O, pg. 72, Dower Bk A53, pg. 18, Charleston County RMC; Jordan and Stringfellow 1998:58). Relatively little is known of his life, although his obituary reported that he was born in London and arrived in Carolina in 1680. He was described as "an eminent Merchant & Settler" who "acquired one of the greatest Estates in the Country" (*South Carolina Gazette*, September 6, 1735).

His will reveals his considerable wealth, including his residence "on the Bay of Charlestown," as well as four tenements on Tradd Street, a lot on Church Street, and 780 acres at "Winyau." His "plantation or tract of six hundred acres of land or thereabouts situated on John's Island" was devised to his son Anthony (1697-1756).

While the plantation remained in the Mathews family, its ownership becomes less clear. In late 1769, there is an advertisement that "household furniture, a good boat, with sails, about thirty head of black cattle, some horses, mares, &c. &c." were to be sold on the "plantation of the late Mr. Anthony Mathews, deceased, on Johns Island" (*South Carolina Gazette*, September 26, 1769). This suggests that the plantation passed from Anthony Mathews (1667-1735) to his son Anthony (1697-1756) and then to his son Anthony (1722-1768). From there it appears to pass laterally to Anthony's cousin, Benjamin Mathews (-1801).

Benjamin was the son of Benjamin (1723-

1754) and Ann Holmes. He married first Sarah, who died in 1723 and subsequently Mary, who died in 1769. It was this Benjamin and Mary Mathews who sold the property in 1791.

Prior to this, however, Benjamin advertised the sale of a 1,000 bushels of rough rice in 1771 (*South Carolina Gazette*, December 17, 1771) documenting that rice was being grown in rather large quantities. Jordan and Stringfellow (1998:236-237) identify Captain Benjamin Mathews in the project area on an unspecified Revolutionary War era map. Benjamin is found on Johns Island in 1780 when he appears on the Grand Jury and Petit Jury lists (Jury Lists, Acts 1078, pg. 1, 3, SC Department of Archives and History). In 1790, he appears in the first Federal Census with three males under 16 years, one male over 16, two white females, and 93 African American slaves.

By 1791, Benjamin appears to have hit hard times. A newspaper advertisement reveals that 26 enslaved African Americans had been seized in execution of a judgement against him and were being sold. The sale, however, was made difficult since the slaves were to be delivered to his wife should he predecease her (which he did) (*State Gazette*, July 28, 1791, pg. 4).

The conveyance of the parcel is clouded by conflicting evidence. A deed reveals that Benjamin Mathews and Mary his wife sold the property to Thomas Mullet in 1791 (Charleston County RMC DB D7, pg. 49; recorded December 1800). Nevertheless, there is an advertisement in early 1791 indicating that the plantation was being sold at auction,

To be Sold at Public Auction,  
Before our office on Tuesday the  
14<sup>th</sup> of February next, at 12  
o'clock in the forenoon. That  
Valuable Plantation on John's  
Island, containing 648 acres, late  
the property of Benjamin  
Mathews, Esq. On the premises  
are a good dwelling house, and all  
necessary plantation buildings.

Conditions – one half of the purchase money cash, the remainder on 1<sup>st</sup> January 1793, giving bond and approved security. William Holmes & Co. (*City Gazette*, February 10, 1792, pg. 1).

Yet additional questions are raised by the notice of Benjamin's death "at his plantation on John's Island" (*City Gazette*, February 21, 1801, pg. 3). Additional research will be necessary to help resolve these differences, although the most convenience explanation is that Benjamin held several tracts.

In any event, the next documented owner is Thomas Mullet, born about 1745 in Devon, England. He began his mercantile career as a paper-maker and stationer in Bristol, England. He was apparently in England during the Revolution, but is reported to have supported the American cause. In 1783, he visited the United States, including New York and Charleston. Mullet was a business partner with Henry Cruger, first through the firm of Henry Cruger & Co. (dissolved in 1785) and later through the firm Cruger, Lediard & Mullet of London (dissolved in 1788). In South Carolina, Cruger, Lediard, and Mullet were involved in court actions against Anne and Moses Glover (1789-1798) and John Maitland (1789), likely the result of commercial dealings (Charleston District Judgement Rolls, 1791, item 613A; 1794, item 104A; 1798, item 412A; Court of Common Pleas, Judgement Rolls, 1789, Box 146A, item 372A; Box 149A, item 655A, SC Department of Archives and History).

By 1789, Mullet was listed as a merchant in New York, but by 1791, he left New York for Bristol (*New York Daily Gazette*, July 4, 1791, pg. 2) and formed an association with Joseph Jeffries Evans, his nephew by marriage to his daughter Mary Anne.

In March 1793, Thomas Mullet of the City of London, merchant, had given his power of attorney to Thomas Morris, Joshua Ward, and John

Ward, Esquires, of Charleston, authorizing them to sell his property on Johns Island and in 1794 the plantation was sold to James Legare. The deed (Charleston County RMC DB D7, pg. 49; recorded December 1800) described a parcel that had been conveyed to Mullet by Benjamin Mathews and Mary his wife in 1791, and was bounded west on Paul Fripp and on George Rivers, south on James Witter, and east on Micah Jenkins. Paul Fripp's tract became Rosebank; the Witter tract was later acquired by Solomon Legare as part of his "Home Place"; and the Micah Jenkins tract became known as The Oaks.

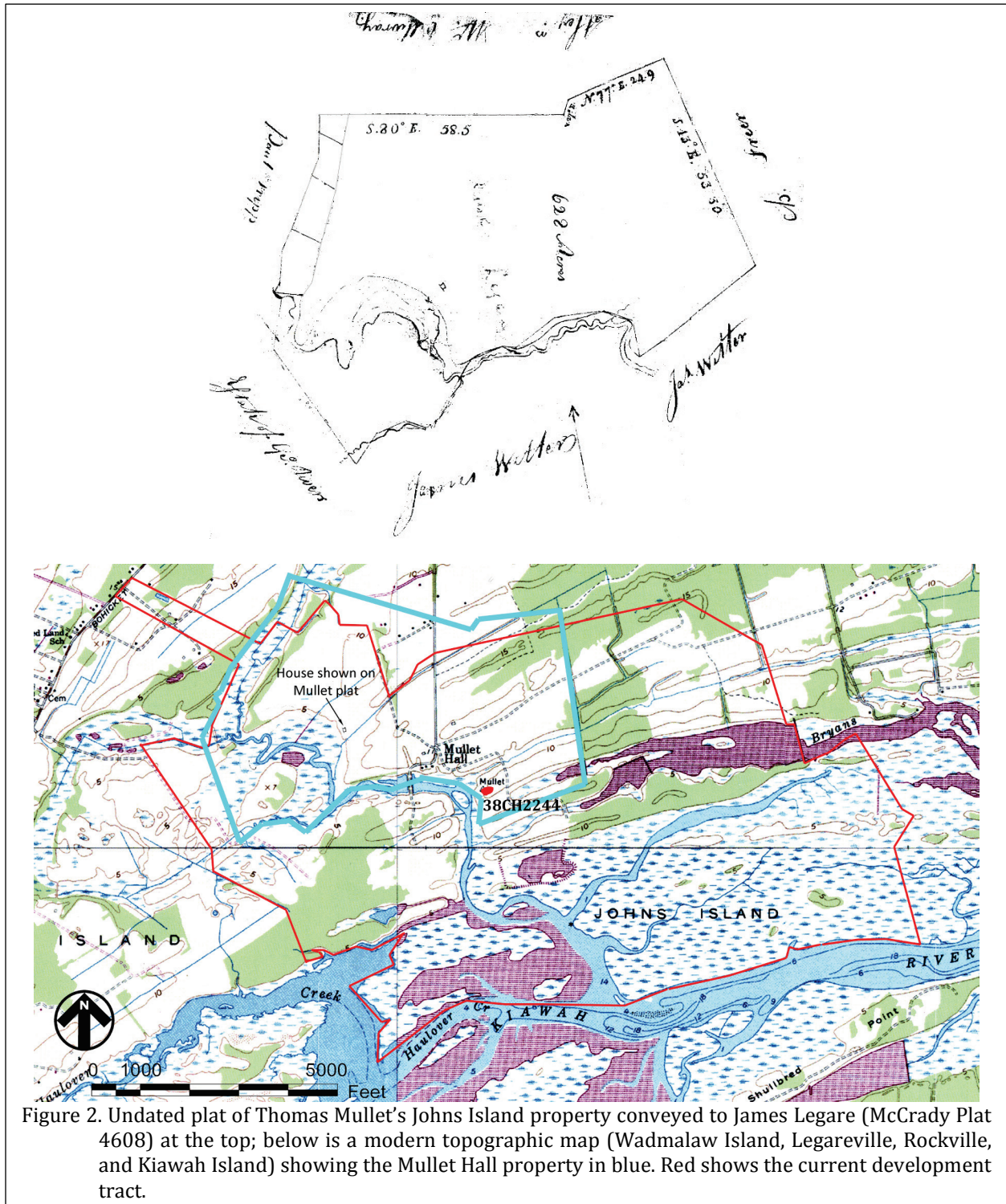
In 1802, Mullet and Evans were known as Thomas Mullet & Co. in London and operated a major mercantile business. Mullet died in 1814, leaving his son, Frederick, as the junior and sole surviving partner of the firm. At the time the company was described as "the most extensive and valuable American business (particularly with New-York) at that time enjoyed by any commercial house in London" (*Newbern* [North Carolina] *Sentinel*, August 24, 1822, pg. 1). In spite of the fortune, the business went into receivership in 1815 as the result of his son's reckless investments.

Thus, although his name is attached to the parcel, Mullet held the property for only four years, likely as an absentee owner looking to make speculative profits off the tract.

When James Legare wrote his will in June 1828, he bequeathed Mullet Hall to two of his children. At his death in 1830, James C. W. Legare (1806-1850) inherited the west half of Mullet Hall Plantation, just over 600 acres including his parents' "Settlement and Mansion House". Whether he occupied the residence immediately is not certain, but after his 1833 marriage to his cousin Lydia Ball Bryan (1816-1868), they settled at Mullet Hall.

This overview of eighteenth century activities reveals that the property was initially owned and developed by the Mathews family. With

# INTRODUCTION





a relatively large number of enslaved African Americans the property likely focused on rice production, gradually shifting to cotton during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Absentee ownership by Mullet suggests a speculative venture. Figure 2 shows the only plat we have been able to identify for Mullet Hall and it does little more than reveal that a structure (likely the main house) was present at time the property was sold by Thomas Mullet to James Legare.

The Legare family has a long history on Johns Island; it was Thomas Legare (1732-1801) who was the father of three men whose families were associated with Mullet Hall Plantation: James Legare (1762-1830), Thomas Legare (1766-1842), and Solomon Legare (1770-1799). James Legare occupied the Mullet tract and adjoining properties; Thomas Legare acquired land to the north. Solomon Legare's granddaughter married James Legare's son, and as his widow, she managed Mullet Hall from 1850 to 1868.

When James Legare wrote his will in June 1828, he bequeathed Mullet Hall to two of his children. At his death in 1830, James C. W. Legare (1806-1850) inherited the west half of Mullet Hall Plantation, just over 600 acres including his parents' "Settlement and Mansion House". Whether he occupied the residence immediately is not certain, but after his 1833 marriage to his cousin Lydia Ball Bryan (1816-1868), they settled at Mullet Hall.

James C. W. Legare planted Mullet Hall until his death in late 1850. The appraisal of his personal estate made in January 1851 details a large operation: 126 slaves, 22 gins, five plows, 11 oxen, and two mules. There was evidently no ginned cotton on the premises, but foodstuffs and feed included fodder, peas, corn, rice, seed potatoes, and cow potatoes. The inventory of household goods indicates a residence of four bedchambers, equipped for year-around occupancy. Although we have no plats for this tract, we believe that Legare continued to occupy the settlement shown on the Mullet plat (identified archaeologically as 38CH1541). In 1860, his wife,

Lydia B. Legare, held 110 slaves on Johns Island, all of them on Mullet Hall.

Lydia Legare died in 1868 and her youngest son, Francis Y. Legare (1850-1905), took over Mullet Hall, managing the plantation and his father's estate.

By 1880, F. Y. Legare owned one farm (Mullet Hall) and rented additional acreage – either on "Home Place" (the east half of the original Mullet Hall), or Rosebank. His own land, 596 acres, was worth \$5,000, comprising 155 acres improved, 160 pasture, 120 woods and forest, and 161 acres of fallow or "old field" land. There were implements and equipment worth about \$1,000, and he had spent \$1,300 on buildings and repairs. The land he rented was 135 acres: 35 acres improved, 50 in woods and forest, and 50 acres fallow, worth altogether \$1,800. Production on the two tracts was dissimilar. He had spent only \$20 to fertilize the rented tract, but \$200 on his own land, where he paid \$195 in laborers' (all African-Americans) wages for fifty weeks. The rented land produced crops worth \$700: 100 bushels of corn on 15 acres, seven bales cotton on 15 acres, 70-bushels sweet potatoes on 10 acres. At his own Mullet Hall, he made \$4,500 in crops: 200- bushels corn on 30 acres, 150-bushels oats on three acres, 42-bales cotton on 64 acres, and 200- bushels sweet potatoes on 10 acres. Legare held little livestock: four horses, two mules, 18 cows, and eight chickens.

The state business directory for 1905 shows Francis Y. Legare with a general store and gristmill near the Mullet Hall post office. The Legares traditionally relied on the Charleston firm of Dill, Ball Company for credit and cash advances. Upon the death of Francis Y. Legare in New York, "where he had temporarily gone for his health for a few weeks," his widow Kate turned to the Dill, Ball Company. This company became inexorably intertwined with Mullet Hall. When Francis Yonge Legare (1890-1955) reached adulthood in 1911, the Estate of Francis Y. Legare, Sr., was closed.

Nevertheless, debts mounted and in July

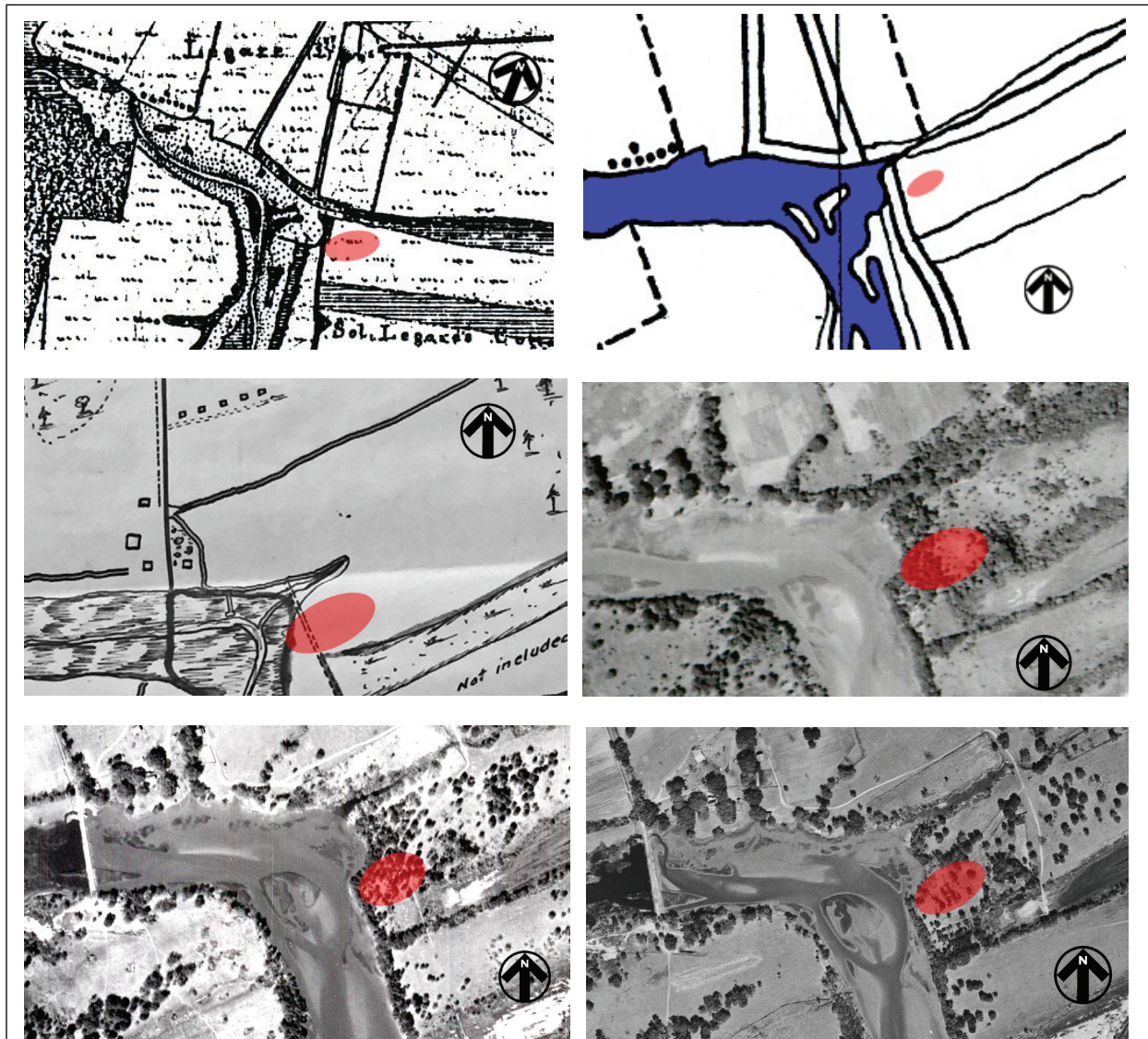


Figure 3. Site 38CH2244 through time, with the approximate site area highlighted in red. Upper left is a drawing from 1854. Upper right is a tracing of the 1854 map prepared in 1863. Middle left is the Dill Ball plat from 1929. Middle right is a 1938 aerial image of the immediate area. Lower left is a 1948 aerial image. Lower right is a 1957 aerial image. None of these images show evidence of occupation in the immediate area from the mid-nineteenth century on. Later images, especially from 1957, show evidence of cultivation beginning among the trees. The location of the road through the site also changes over time.



1923, Mullet Hall was sold at public auction to the Dill, Ball Company for \$10,000.

Eventually, in about 1938 the Dill, Ball Company leased or sold Mullet Hall and The Oaks to Julian S. Limehouse, Jr. (Sidi Limehouse, personal communication 2008), giving him title in June 1942. Limehouse paid \$12,000 for 1,685 acres plus salt marsh with two fingers of high land, south to the Kiawah River (Charleston County RMC DB L43, pg. 197).

The residence built by Francis Y. Legare, and several tenant houses remained on Mullet Hall at the time Limehouse purchased it. His father soon built a new two-story house near the water. Although delayed by World War II-era shortages, Limehouse managed the evolution of Mullet Hall from a tenant-based cotton farm to a productive

vegetable and livestock operation. Equipment sheds and trailer houses replaced tenant houses, and tractors with subsoil tillers replaced hoes and plows.

## Evidence of Occupation

In spite of the long occupation, we have been unable to identify any evidence of occupation at 38CH2244 during either the late nineteenth or early twentieth centuries (Figure 3).

Oral history, however, tells us that “during WWII” Limehouse obtained a contract from the Charleston Naval Yard to obtain mess hall scraps for his pigs. Whether he paid for the scraps or the Navy paid him is uncertain. Also unknown is whether the scraps were brought in to Mullet Hall by barge or truck. In any event, this “history” has



Figure 4. Archaeological site 38CH2244 looking north toward the creek (in the background). Site 38CH1549 is behind the photographer.

been used to explain various occurrences on the property of ceramics, silverware, and other items attributable to the Navy. This proved to be an interesting aspect of the site's history, as explored in a subsequent section of this report.

## **Memorandum of Agreement**

A Memorandum of Agreement (MOA) was approved by the State Historic Preservation Office (signed August 17, 2015), the Corps of Engineers (signed September 3, 2015), and Kiawah River Plantation Holdings (signed August 6, 2015) in partial fulfillment of Permit Number SAC-2008-01605-21G. The MOA specified that additional work would be conducted at 38CH2244 prior to any ground disturbing activities. The goal of this work was to allow the site to be assessed for its National Register eligibility.

A testing plan for 38CH2244 was prepared by Chicora Foundation and was submitted to the signatory parties on October 3, 2016. The plan was approved by the State Historic Preservation Office on December 13, 2016 and the Corps by the end of December. This report provides the information required to fulfill this plan and allow 38CH2244 to be further evaluated for its archaeological and historical contributions.

# Field Methods

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## Introduction

The field crew for this project consisted of Andrew Hyder, Kyndra Beatty, Lincoln Caldwell, Rachael Hutchison, Katrina Newburn, and Marly Richison. Debi Hacker is conducting laboratory processing. The principal investigator and field director, Michael Trinkley, was on-site throughout the project. The field investigations began on May 1 and continued through May 18, 2017. A total of 473 person hours were devoted to the investigations that opened 750 square feet and excavated 1007 cubic feet.

Our initial investigations at 38CH2244 used shovel testing excavated by natural strata (although not all shovel tests penetrated the B-horizon because of depth), but we identified no stratigraphy not associated with plowing.

Although the site was shovel tested at 50-foot intervals during the previous survey, during the intervening years it became impossible to reconstruct the original grid. This made it difficult, if not impossible, to cost-effectively conduct block excavations.

As a result, we determined the best approach would be to further explore the site area, not only ensuring that we incorporated the entire site, especially to the north and south, but also that we used a method that obtained the best information possible to guide excavations.

The client's surveyors, Thomas and Hutton, established a skeleton site grid at 50-foot intervals for horizontal control. We used a modified Chicago grid system. Such a system assumes an off-site OR0 point and the southeast corner of each unit designates the feet north and

right (or east) of this arbitrary OR0 point. Hence, the southeast corner of unit 10R50 would be 10 feet north and 50 feet right, or east, of the OR0 point.

The surveyors' grid is tied into the South Carolina State Plane Coordinate system so it can be easily reconstructed and so excavations at different sites could be correlated, if necessary. Thus, our point 470R660 at 38CH2244 is also N290,400 E2,270,200.

Vertical control at the site uses a datum at 385R832 established by Thomas and Hutton. This datum has an elevation of 8.73 feet and is tied into the North American Vertical Datum of 1988 (NAVD 88). All elevations were taken in relation to this point, allowing widely separated areas of the site to be precisely compared (as well as comparing one site to another).

Using the 50-foot interval, we further gridded the site into 20-foot blocks for the first phase of investigation at the site.

## Auger Testing

For the next phase of investigations, we chose to conduct auger testing to determine the close interval spatial distribution of key artifacts in order to indicate possible structural locations. We have decades of experience using this technique with numerous reports demonstrating that it can successfully indicate structural or occupational areas. In addition to Chicora's work, the same technique has been used by the National Park Service, with its outstanding record of archaeological protection and investigation.

In 1999 at Magnolia Plantation, archaeologist Dr. Bennie Keel excavated 1,206



auger tests over the 18-acre plantation and was able to ascertain a variety of structures. Keel commented, "the comprehensive auger testing program provides an understanding of the distribution of archaeological remains at the park." He goes on to specify the use of 25-foot intervals, based not only on this project, but also on his work at the Charles Pinckney site in Charleston County (Keel 1999).

In 2000, National Park Service Archaeologists Christina E. Miller and Susan E. Wood again used auger testing, this time at the 42-acre Oakland Plantation. A total of 1,660 auger tests were excavated. A significant conclusion in their report was that, "the auger testing program has proved to be an efficient and comprehensive method for recovering archaeological baseline data."

In both cases auger testing did precisely what the researchers wanted it to do – predict structure locations for additional research. Moreover, it achieves this goal in a timely and cost-effective manner. Auger testing is consistent in size (we used a 1-foot diameter bit) and depth – far more so than shovel testing which is affected by crew experience and stamina.

An interval of 20 feet was used based on Chicora's own work at various plantation sites, as well as the work by NPS. A total of 268 auger tests were opened, with all screened through ¼-inch mesh. The tests yielded 250 eighteenth century artifacts and 359 nineteenth and twentieth century artifacts. An additional 65 fragments of faunal remains were recovered (primarily associated with the nineteenth and twentieth century remains). There were 19 historic items (almost exclusively metals) that could not reliably be identified as to the eighteenth century or later. Finally, 118 prehistoric items were recovered. Materials were transferred to Chicora's Columbia lab where they were cleaned and analyzed, allowing the data to be incorporated into Surfer maps using a natural neighbor gridding method. This method does not generate data in areas where no data exists, helping to separate the different

components found at 38CH2244.

## Excavations

The minimal excavation unit was a 5 by 5 foot unit used for horizontal control, although most of the units were 10 by 10 feet. Chicora has adopted engineering measurements (feet and tenths of feet) for consistency in its work, especially on European sites where structural measurements are most often in feet.

The testing plan specified that at least 200 square feet would be manually excavated, with all fill screened through ¼-inch mesh. We were able to excavate 750 square feet – more than tripling the original estimate. These units were dispersed across the site, based on the Surfer maps, although only a single 5-foot square (540R660) was excavated in the area defined as predominately twentieth century. The rationale for this decision was simply that these late materials – while admittedly of interest – were not deemed contributing to the possible significance of the site. A 10-foot unit (480R680) was excavated in an area thought to represent a area of dense prehistoric remains in an effort to obtain a more representative collection of these materials. The remaining five units were placed toward the eastern edge of the site to explore areas exhibiting relatively high-density remains based on the auger tests.

The excavations were by natural soil zones, revealing that virtually all of the site, with the exception of the northwestern edge (where twentieth century remains dominated) had been heavily plowed. Plow scars and plow ridges in plowed areas were common, although generally these were partially removed with the upper plowzone level. Flat shoveling was occasionally necessary in an effort to better reveal features, given the density of plowing. Unfortunately, no features were encountered in any of the units.

Excavation was by hand with all fill dry-screened through ¼-inch mesh using mechanical sifters.

A one-quart soil sample was collected from each provenience for soil chemistry needs.

Munsell soil color notations were made during the course of excavations, typically on moist soils freshly exposed. All materials except brick, mortar, and shell were retained by provenience. The brick, mortar, and shell from the screens were collected, weighed, and discarded in the field (Table 1).

Table 1. Brick and Shell Weights (in lbs.)		
Unit	Shell	Brick
470R930, pz	1	-
470R950, pz	-	-
480R680, pz	1	6
480R840, lv 1	-	-
490R950, pz	21	7
500R785, pz	2	4
540R660, lv 1	-	-
540R960, pz	5	31
Totals	30	48

Each unit was troweled at the top of subsoil and digitally photographed. Units were drawn at a scale of 1-inch to 2-feet. Profiles were drawn at an exaggerated vertical scale of 1-inch to 1-foot, with a horizontal scale of 1-inch to 2-feet.



# Findings

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## Auger Testing

Figure 5 shows the resulting eighteenth century historic artifact density map. The boundaries to the north, west, south, and east are fairly well established, although there may be some minor occupation to the south at 360R660 that was not fully sampled. It also appears that some occupation may have extended to the northeast, into the cemetery (38CH1549) that was not included in the auger testing. There is an especially dense area centered at 500R780, and a series of concentrations forming a north-south line from about 600R960 to 440R960. The finds suggest a possible series of structures, centered at 540R960 and 500R940, with smear to the north and south. Curiously, this settlement, unlike 38CH2242, was not located at the marsh edge, but was set further inland.

This location was fortuitous since Figure 6 illustrates the primarily twentieth century artifacts are situated at the marsh edge. Also shown is a density map of the faunal materials. The artifacts are concentrated at the northwestern edge of the site, centered at 540R660. The bulk of the faunal remains were also identified from the same location. We believe these remains represent mess hall scraps acquired by Limehouse to feed his pigs. This location was likely chosen because it was possible to import the scraps to the pig pen by barge during high tide.

The few nineteenth or twentieth century artifacts identified at the far eastern side of the site were attributed to scatter from the African American cemetery (38CH1549) and likely represent grave goods displaced from the cemetery by plowing. After analysis, these artifacts were returned to their auger tests and were not

retained. There were several small deposits of bone in this same area; the bone was carefully examined and determined not to represent human remains. These few scatters may be attributed to the colonial occupation at 38CH2244.

The final density map (Figure 7), illustrates a range of low-density prehistoric concentrations scattered across the site. Reference to Table 2 reveals that almost all of these are based on only a small number of sherds. These remains also appear to be fairly well confined to the established boundaries of 38CH2244.

The most common eighteenth century artifact was colono pottery, represented by 167 specimens. Lead glazed slipware was the second most common ceramic, accounting for an additional 19 specimens. Black and aqua glass were also common in the assemblage. Architectural remains are virtually absent, as are other artifacts, such as personal items and clothing.

The later assemblage, thought to represent refuse brought to the site by Limehouse, was dominated by clear glass (n=129). The ceramics are almost exclusively heavy whitewares, commonly called hotel ware. The plain ceramics would have been used by the enlisted, while those with a blue stripe would have been used by lower ranking officers. Many of the faunal remains exhibit extensive cut and saw marks to produce meat cuts common in mess halls, such as pork chops.

The auger tests provided early clues regarding the complexity of 38CH2244, identifying the colonial slave occupation, the far more recent trash brought in from elsewhere, the presence of probable cemetery related items, and the mixed prehistoric remains.

FINDINGS

Table 2.  
Artifacts Recovered from Auger Tests at 38CH2244

	Chinese porcelain, undec	Chinese porcelain, blue hp	white porcelain, undec	white SGSW	delft, hp	lead glazed slipware	whiteware, undec	whiteware, stripped	whiteware, poly stamped	Westerwald	SGSW, gray	SGSW, brown	SW, Bristol	colono	glass, black	glass, aqua	glass, green	glass, manganese	glass, brown	glass, milk	glass, clear	glass, melted	metal can frag	utensils	nail, wire	nail, UID	button	pipestem, 4/64"	pipestem, 5/64"	pipe bowl	comb, plastic	Misc. brass hardware	Misc. iron hardware	Faunal remains	flake, chert	small PH	
400R560																																				1	
360R580							1									1																				1	
400R580																1		1																		1	
420R580							1																														1
360R600																										1											1
380R600							1																														1
400R600																											1										2
420R600																																					1
440R600							1																						1								1
460R600																													1								1
380R620																																					1
400R620																																					1
420R620																																					2
480R620																				1	5															2	
360R640														2																							4
460R640																																					2
480R640																			1	1	6	3														3	
500R640							2	1								2				6	6					1										2	
520R640							1													2	7															1	
540R640							24	2								1			4	39	59			2							1	5	4				
360R660																																					2
380R660																																					
400R660											1					1					1																
420R660														1																							
440R660														2																							
460R660																1																					
480R660														2		1																					
500R660																				2	3															3	
520R660							2									1				1	15																
540R660			1				9	6								5			2	8	30		13				1					1					
360R680																1																					2
400R680																																					2
420R680														3																							2
440R680																																					1
460R680																																					1
480R680																1					1															9	
500R680																				2	2																
520R680							2												1		8																
540R680														1						1	2																
560R680																1					3						1										
360R700																																					
400R700																																					
420R700																																					1
440R700																1																					
480R700																					1																
500R700																					1																
520R700																				1	1																
540R700							1													1	1																
560R700																																					
360R720																																					
380R720									1																												
420R720																																					
440R720																																					
540R720																1																					
420R740																1																					2
440R740																																					1
460R740																																					
500R740																					1																1
540R740																1																					
560R740																																					1
380R760																																					
400R760																																					
440R760																																					1
460R760																																					1
480R760																																					1
500R760																																					2
520R760																																					3
540R760																																					
600R760																																					
440R780																				1																	5
480R780																																					2
500R780																																					



Table 2, cont.  
Artifacts Recovered from Auger Tests at 38CH2244

	Chinese porcelain, undec	Chinese porcelain, blue hp	white porcelain, undec	white SGSW	delft, hp	lead glazed slipware	whiteware, undec	whiteware, stripped	whiteware, poly stamped	Westerwald	SGSW, gray	SGSW, brown	SW, Bristol	colono	glass, black	glass, aqua	glass, green	glass, manganese	glass, brown	glass, milk	glass, clear	glass, melted	metal can frag	utensils	nail, wire	nail, UID	button	pipestem, 4/64"	pipestem, 5/64"	pipe bowl	comb, plastic	Misc. brass hardware	Misc. iron hardware	Faunal remains	flake, chert	small PH	
420R800																																				1	
440R800						1						1																									
460R800										1		1																									
480R800														1																						1	
500R800														1	1																						
520R800																			1																		
540R800														2																							
380R820														1																						1	
440R820																																				1	
460R820				1										1																							
480R820																																				1	
560R820						1					1			1																							
600R820															1						1																
460R840														1																							
480R840						1						1		3																					6		
520R840														3	1										1										5		
540R840																									1									2			
560R840						1																															
580R840														2																							
400R860						1									1																						
420R860																1																				1	
440R860																1																				2	
480R860														1	1																						
520R860														1																							
560R860														1																							
580R860				1										2																							
460R880														1																							
520R880														1																						1	
540R880														1																						2	
560R880														1																							
600R880																																					
640R880																																				1	
420R900							1							1																							
480R900														2																							
520R900														3																							
540R900																																				2	
560R900														1							1					1											
580R900						2										1																					
600R900																1																					
460R920														1													1										
480R920														3																							
500R920														2	1																						
520R920						1								3																							
540R920														2																							
560R920														1		1																					
580R920														3																							
620R920						1								1																							
420R940														3																							
440R940														1																							
480R940							1							5	1							1													1	4	
500R940														2																							
520R940				1										4																							
540R940						2								3	2																						
560R940														2																							
580R940														1																							
600R940				1										3																							1
620R940						1								1																						1	
640R940																																				1	
440R960														4	1																						
460R960														2																							
480R960	1					2						1		3	1			1																	1		
500R960		2		1		2								9																1						1	
520R960						1								4				1																		10	
540R960						2							1	8												2										2	
560R960														8																						2	
580R960												1		3																						1	
600R960														3	2																					1	
460R980																									1												
480R980																																					
500R980														2	1																						
540R980														1																							
560R980														2																							
580R960				1										1							1																

## FINDINGS

If the colonial artifacts recovered from auger testing are representative of the entire site, and we see no good reason to conclude they aren't, then they are only vaguely similar to what has been identified in the past as the Carolina Artifact Pattern – a pattern thought to represent eighteenth century enslaved African Americans. Table 3

materials brought to the site were not exclusively mess hall related.

The auger test sample is far larger than the original shovel test collection. If we include only the eighteenth century ceramics in our Mean Ceramic Date (Table 4), we get a date of 1738. This

is actually earlier than 38CH2242 across the marsh or for 38CH1543 (Trinkley 2017b, 2017c), suggesting this may be one of the earliest sites found on Mullet Hall.

The later remains seem to have a mix of very late nineteenth century items, such as whiteware and green colored milk glass, and more recent items, such as the plastic comb and hotel ware. We believe the assemblage represents a mixing of items

that were probably originally in the cemetery but became dispersed by plowing and the items dumped in the pig pen by Limehouse. Those items almost certainly from the Charleston Naval Yard seem to represent a period from perhaps the late 1940s through the mid-1950s.

reveals that kitchen artifacts are found in a much greater percentage than is typical for eighteenth century slave settlements (97.2% compared to a maximum of 84.2%). Curiously, the 38CH2244 assemblage, at least in terms of kitchen items, is very similar to what was found at the 38CH2242 slave settlement across the creek.

With oral history describing twentieth century sites such as 38CH2244 at Mullet Hall as refuse from the Charleston Naval Yard, it hardly seems worthwhile to examine the artifact pattern. Nevertheless, the pattern exhibits a broader range than might be expected. While 92.4% of the collection represents kitchen artifacts, such as ceramics, glass, and even cans, a broad range of items was recovered, including clothing (buttons) and personal items (a plastic comb). One can image these items being incorporated in mess hall trash. However, 5.2% of the artifacts are placed in the activities category and represent pieces of metal, bolts, and other hardware. This suggests that the

Table 3.  
Artifact Pattern Comparisons with the 38CH2244 auger tests

	38CH2244, 18th century	38CH2242, 18th century	Revised Carolina Artifact Pattern <sup>1</sup>	Carolina Slave Artifact Pattern <sup>1</sup>	Georgia Slave Artifact Pattern <sup>2</sup>
Kitchen	97.2	95.3	51.8-65.0	70.9-84.2	20.0-25.8
Architecture	0.0	0.1	25.2-31.4	11.8-24.8	67.9-73.2
Furniture	0.0	0.0	0.2-0.6	0.1	0.0-0.1
Arms	0.0	0.5	0.1-0.3	0.1-0.3	0.0-0.2
Tobacco	2.8	3.0	1.9-13.9	2.4-5.4	0.3-9.7
Clothing	0.0	0.0	0.6-5.4	0.3-0.8	0.3-1.7
Personal	0.0	0.7	0.2-0.5	0.1	0.1-0.2
Activities	0.0	0.5	0.9-1.7	0.2-0.9	0.2-0.4

<sup>1</sup>Garrow 1982

<sup>2</sup>Singleton 1980

Table 4.  
Mean Ceramic Date for Eighteenth Century Auger Tests

Ceramic	Date Range	Mean Date (xi)	(fi)	fi x xi
Underglazed blue porc	1660-1800	1730	3	5190
Westerwald	1700-1775	1738	1	1738
White salt glazed stoneware	1740-1775	1758	6	10548
Lead glazed slipware	1670-1795	1733	19	32927
Delft, decorated	1600-1802	1750	1	1750
Total			30	52153
Mean Ceramic Date				1738.4

The prehistoric assemblage is heavily impacted by plowing, likely because the bulk of these remains came from the interior western portion of the site, where plowing has been well documented. The few sherds that could be identified include Deptford Check Stamped, Cape Fear Simple Stamped, and Cape Fear Cord Marked

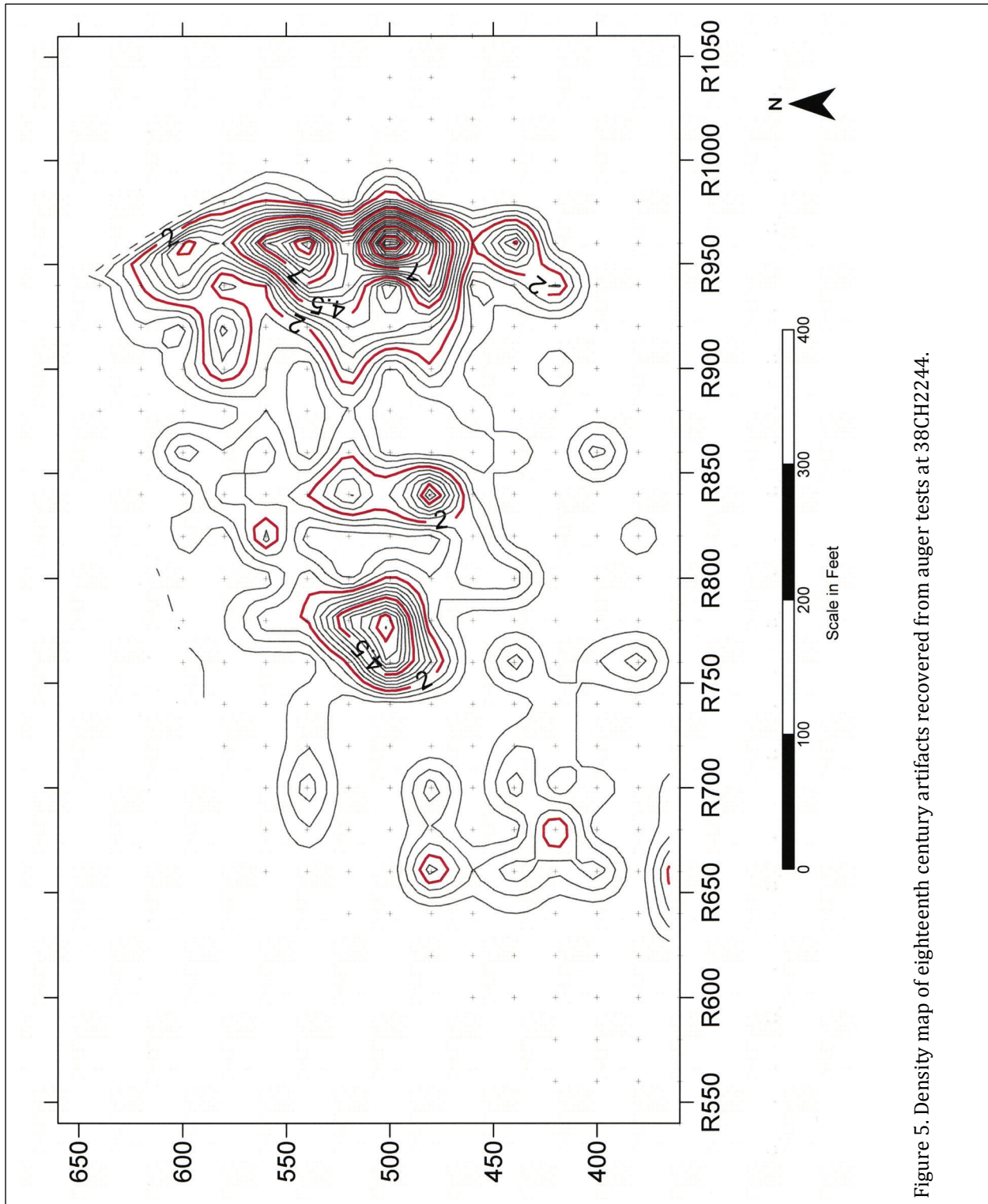


Figure 5. Density map of eighteenth century artifacts recovered from auger tests at 38CH2244.

## FINDINGS

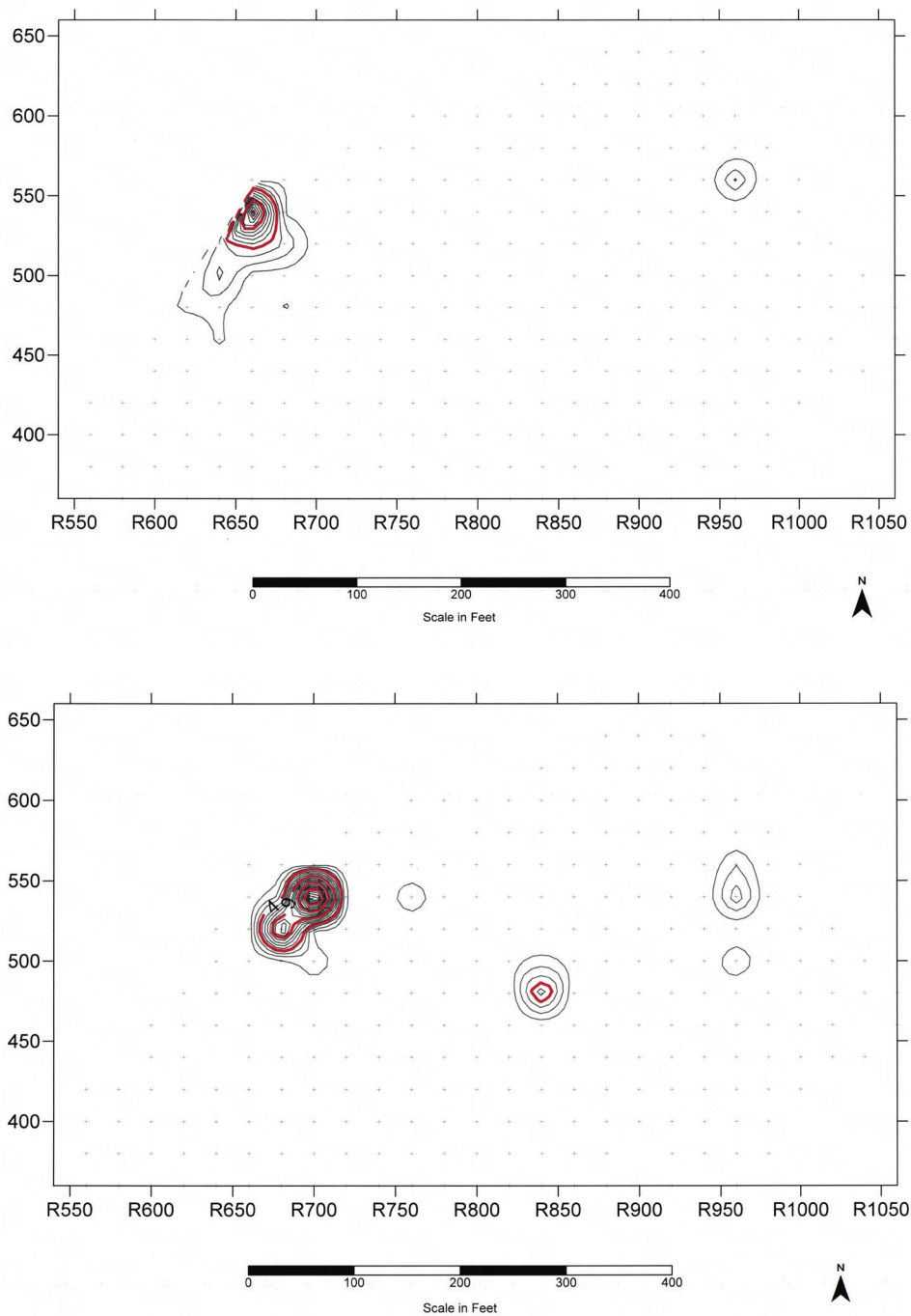


Figure 6. Density map of late nineteenth and twentieth century artifacts (top) and faunal remains (bottom) from auger tests at 38CH2244.

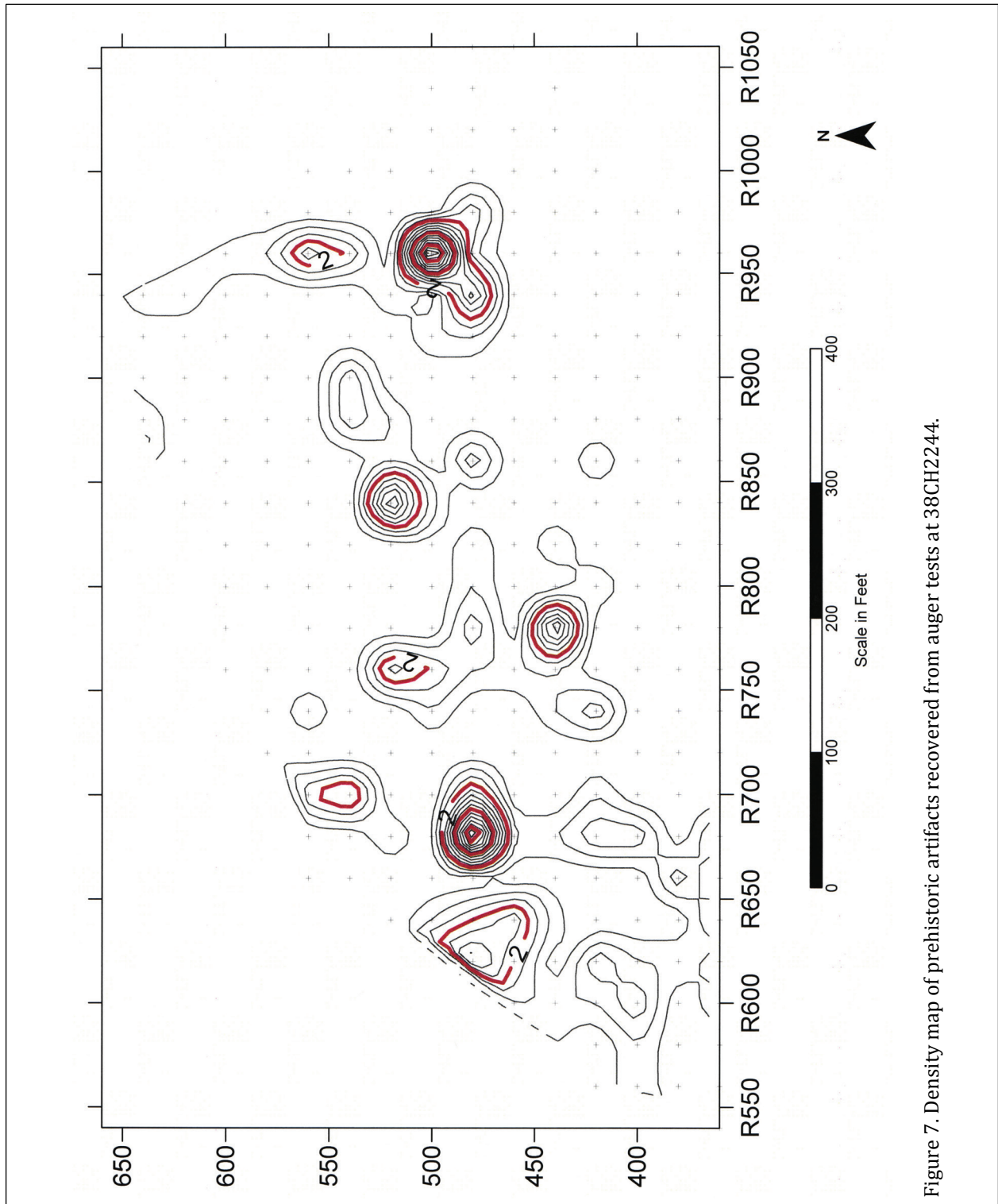


Figure 7. Density map of prehistoric artifacts recovered from auger tests at 38CH2244.



– all series that are primarily late Early Woodland or early Middle Woodland (perhaps 800 to 200 B.C.). The only other prehistoric artifacts were two single secondary flakes, one of rhyolite and the other of chert. No diagnostic lithics were recovered.

## Excavations

Eight units were excavated: 470R930, 470R950, 480R680, 480R840, 490R950, 500R785, 540R660, and 540R960. All were 10 foot squares, with exception of 540R660, which was only a 5-foot unit.

Unit **470R930**, situated at the south edge of dense remains based on the auger tests, revealed some plowing, with one plow scar being well defined. The plowzone was a brown (10YR4/3) sand about a foot in depth overlying a heavily mottled yellowish brown (10YR6/6) subsoil. Brick was absent and shell was very sparse, but colonial remains were abundant. No features were identified at the base of the excavations.

Unit **470R950**, situated just east of 470R930, was also in an area of dense eighteenth century remains. No plow scars could be identified, although the upper level consisted of a brown sand (10YR4/3) typical of plowzone soil at the site. It was, however, only about 0.8 foot in depth. The subsoil consisted of a yellowish brown (10YR5/4) sand. No features were encountered.

Unit **480R680** produced a plowzone of brown (10YR3/4) sand about 1.3 foot in depth. The underlying subsoil was a heavily mottled brownish yellow (10YR6/6) sand that was difficult to identify during excavations. No plowscars were found although it was relatively close to the marsh and in an area thought to have been plowed. The unit was originally laid in since this area produced seemingly dense prehistoric remains in the auger tests. Excavations, however, produced only very small – and heavily fragmented – prehistoric pottery.

Unit **480R840** was excavated in an area that was thought to represent a small colonial

concentration. Plowscars were identified, but all were shallow. The plowzone was up to 1.1 foot in depth, consisting of a brown (10R4/5) sand. The subsoil was a mottled brownish yellow (10YR6/6) sand. No features were identified. Artifacts were not especially dense in this unit.

Unit **490R950** was excavated in the heart of dense colonial remains identified through auger testing. In spite of dense roots, we found that plowscars were well defined at the base of the 1.1 foot deep plowzone of dark brown (10YR3/8) sand. The subsoil was a heavily mottled brownish yellow (10YR6/8) sand. Unfortunately, no features were identified in this unit, although shell was very common compared to other units.

Unit **500R785** was situated in an area of dense colonial remains to the west of the primary north-south line of colonial deposits. Excavations were not able to ascertain if the upper level had been plowed, although the presence of a feature suggests plowing, if present, was minimal. The level 1 soil was 1.0 foot in depth, consisting of very dark grayish brown (10YR3/2) sand. Brick and shell, while present, were not abundant. The subsoil consisted of a mottled yellowish brown (10YR5/8) sand. In the northwest quadrant of the unit we found a linear mass of gray (5YR5/1) lime and mortar surrounded by yellowish red (5YR5/8) burned sand, designated Feature 1.

**Feature 1** measured about 3 feet southwest-northeast and about 0.7 foot in width. It was elevated off the floor about 0.3 foot. We believe this was a crudely fabricated hearth. It is nearly identical to a similar feature encountered at 38BU1214 where a unit produced Feature 11, a cast block of mortar measuring about 4.5 feet in length and 1.0 foot in width. It, too, was associated with burnt sand and we interpreted the feature to be a crude hearth. No post holes were identifiable, although a packed earth floor was identified. At 38CH2244, the extensive mottling of the unit may also represent a floor. Feature 11 at 38BU1214 is dated about 1788 – considerably more recent than 38CH2244 (Trinkley 1991:104-106). These are, however, the only two sites where we know a

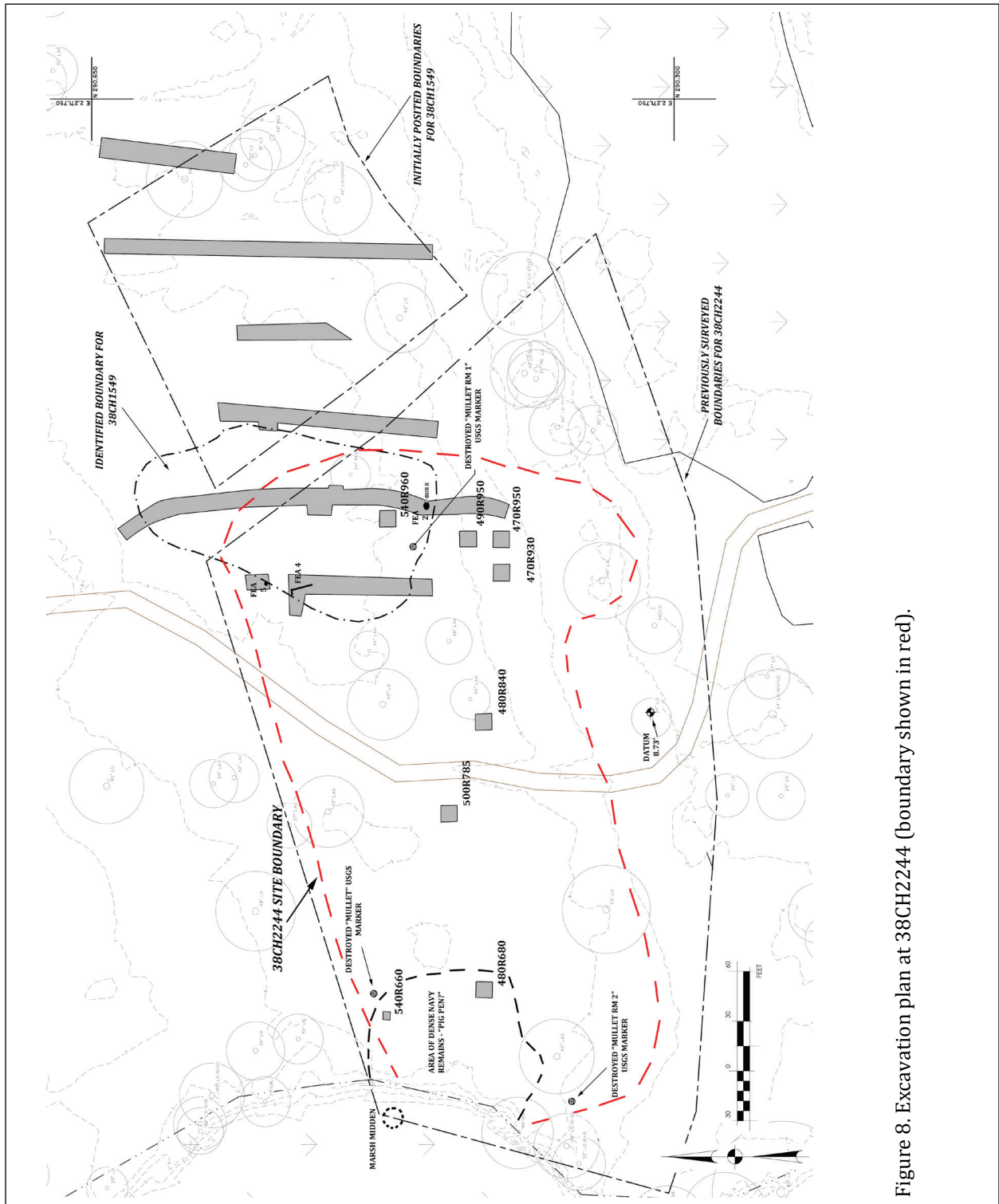


Figure 8. Excavation plan at 38CH2244 (boundary shown in red).

feature such as this has been identified.

Unit **540R660** was the single 5-foot unit which was excavated in the area of dense twentieth century and faunal remains. The unit revealed light yellowish brown sand to a depth of 1.3 feet. At the base of the excavations were light yellowish brown (10YR6/4), and yellow (10YR7/8) sand. We suspect this is the result of considerable mixing and rooting in the area by pigs. The unit produced an extraordinary quantity of trash.

The final unit, **540R960**, was situated in the north of the linear band of colonial material found by auger testing. No distinct plow scars were identified, but the upper soil was a dark brown (10YR4/6) sand 1.3 foot in depth, suggesting that plowing may have occurred. The subsoil was a mottled brownish yellow (10YR6/8) sand. Brick was especially abundant, although no features were identified.

## Mechanical Stripping

In addition to the formal units, several trenches were stripped in the area of 38CH2244 in an effort to identify the boundaries of the African American cemetery (38CH1549). Whatever impact these trenches might have had on 38CH2244, we viewed the consequences as negligible compared to an error in identifying accurate cemetery boundaries, which could potentially result in development damage to human remains.

We found that the cemetery was not located where it was thought to be based on 2008 oral informants. Instead, it was shifted west and this work revealed that the two sites overlapped as shown in Figure 8.

During the stripping, which sought to ensure cemetery boundaries were defined, we discovered several colonial features (Features 2, 4, and 5) were situated in the overlapping boundary. Their discovery was fortuitous, providing the only pit or structure features encountered in the excavations.

**Feature 2** was a circular trash pit,

measuring about 4 by 5 feet and about 1.5 feet in depth. Burial 8 intruded into the pit and the two fills were virtually indistinguishable, resulting in the recovery of cranial remains and burial hardware in the screen (see Trinkley and Hacker 2017).

The Feature 3 number was not used.

**Feature 4** is a wall trench structure. The east wall is incomplete, but measures 14 feet. The north wall is also incomplete, extending west only 4 feet. Presumably associated with the structure were two piers, one about a foot to the northeast of the corner, measuring about 3 feet in diameter and the other in the middle of north-south wall, measuring about 3 by 2 feet. About 20 feet from the north wall was a mass of brick rubble, perhaps representing a brick fireplace.

**Feature 5** is a very shallow trash pit, measuring 4.2 feet north-south by 4.6 feet east-west. It was only 0.4 foot in depth.

## Artifacts

Formal excavations produced 3,332 artifacts (Table 5). The most abundant of these artifacts are colono wares – low fired, slave-made earthenwares. The colono pottery (n=2,055) accounts for 61.8% of the assemblage and nearly 68% of the kitchen artifacts. The most abundant European ware is lead glazed slipware, which accounts for 9% of the total collection (n=303).

We have previously reviewed the different typologies applied to colono pottery (Trinkley and Hacker 2016:265-269). Even a cursory review will suggest that there is considerable overlap between the various types, and defining features are often not present in relatively small plowzone collections. Nevertheless, the assemblage from 38CH2244 is most similar to what Anthony (1986, 2002, 2009) has called Lesesne Lustered.

About 9% of the collection falls into the category of River Burnished (Anthony 1986, 2002, 2009), based primarily on the presence of well-defined burnishing facets.

Flattened rims are found on about 63% of the rims, while rounded examples account for the remaining 37%. The presence of bulbous lips has been identified for both varieties (flattened and rounded). At 38CH2244, the bulbous lips account for 55.8% of the flattened specimens, but only 3.9% of the rounded examples. Thus, it appears that flattened lips were more often thickened than those that were rounded. We know of no functional reason for this; moreover, many of the rims were very small and determining the presence of thickening was at times difficult.

The paste of both the Lesesne Lustered and River Burnished is a fine, almost micaceous, sand. Sherds are well fired, primarily reduced.

A sample of non-rim sherds have an average thickness of 5.67mm (SD=1.05mm; n=209). These are within the range attributed to Lesesne Lustered, although there is considerable overlap. Some notched rims are found. Unlike 38CH2242, no spalls were identified in the collection.

The collection produced two handles (suggesting the replication of European styles). Other features, such as foot rings, were not recovered.

Turning our attention to the European ceramics present at 38CH2244, the lead glazed slipwares account for 51.6% of the European ceramics. Slipware was a traditional eighteenth century form of pottery decoration in which a white or cream-colored slip is trailed over a buff or red earthenware body. A clear lead glazed slip is then applied before firing. These ceramics were the wares of the yeoman farmer and laborer in England, so it is no surprise they so frequently find their way into slave households.

Similarly, the 87 fragments of salt glazed stoneware assumed many utilitarian functions, including chamber pots and tankards. They account for 14.8% of the English ceramics present.

Delft is a typical eighteenth century ware

with a lead glaze to which tin-oxide has been added to produce a very white glaze in imitation of Chinese porcelains. The ware is generally Dutch or English, although French, Italian, Portuguese, and Spanish tin-glazed wares were also manufactured. The most common decoration is cobalt blue hand painting.

Cushion indicates that, like slipware, the bulk of the delft until sometime in the eighteenth century was utilitarian, intended for the table, a view also expressed by Noël Hume (1978:13, 25) who describes delft as a "modestly priced ware."

The last utilitarian ware to be mentioned is the single sherd of a Spanish olive jar. The coarse paste includes abundant temper and the vessels, when sufficiently intact, have a distinctive globular shape with two crude handles below the neck. As large containers, olive jars transported a variety of contents, including bullets, capers, beans, chick peas, lard, tar, wine, olives in brine, and olive oil (Goggin 1960:6; Pernambuco de Mello 1979:221).

Over 11% of the collection consists of Chinese porcelains. The bulk of the export wares for European trade were the common blue and white porcelains, often known by collectors as Nanking, Nankeen, or Nankin, after the port on the lower Yangtse River from which much was shipped. While the beginning date for this ware can be quite early, what is seen at most American archaeological sites probably does not predate the English re-opening of the China trade, about 1715.

While quite expensive, the presumption is that such ceramics, once broken, cracked, or out of style, were discarded, often finding their way to slave quarters.

Only a few nineteenth century remains are present in the assemblage. It seems unlikely, given the proximity of the Navy deposit and the presence of the nearby cemetery, that these items were deposited during the occupation of the slave settlement.

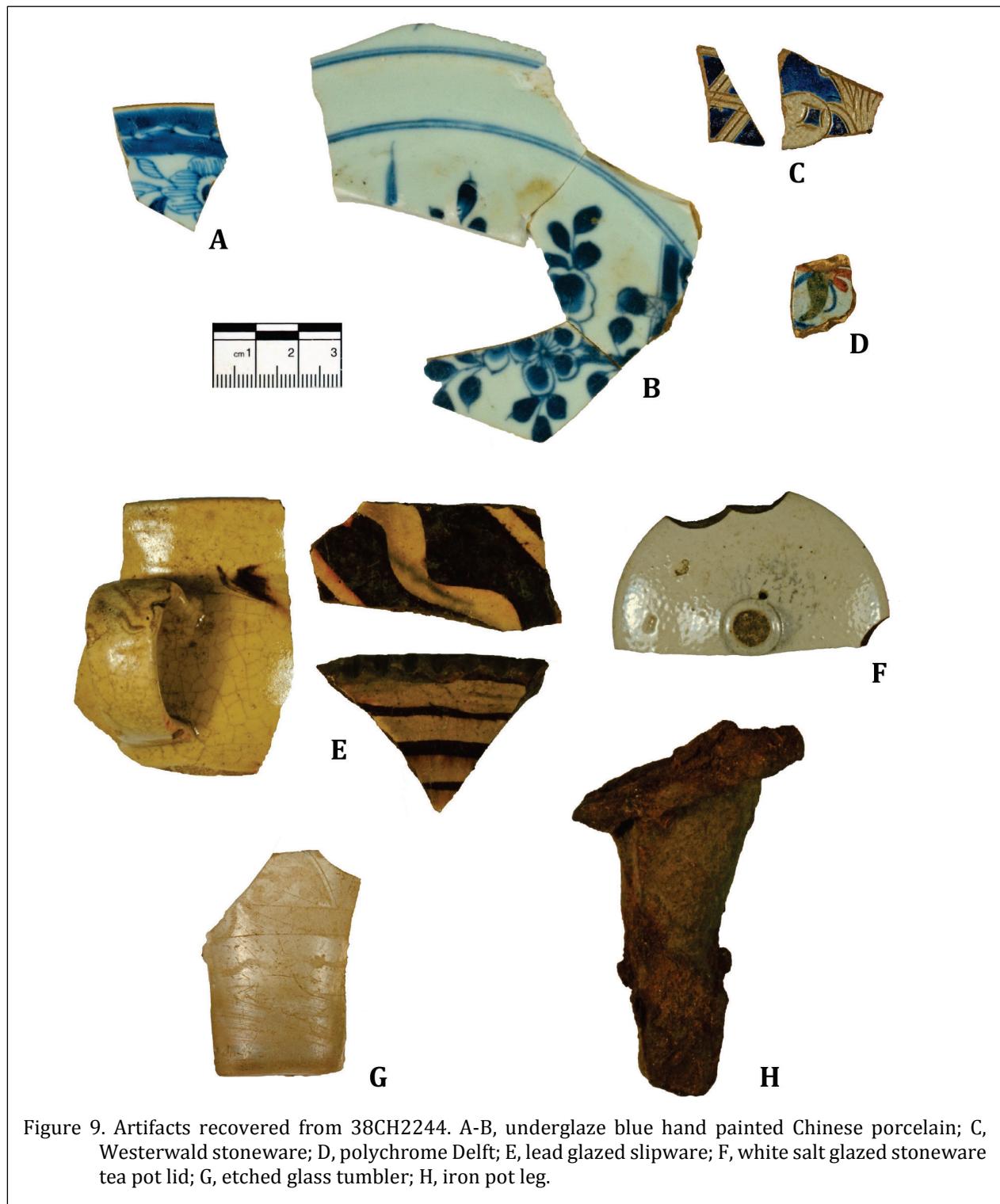
Black glass accounts for 70.8% of the glass

## FINDINGS

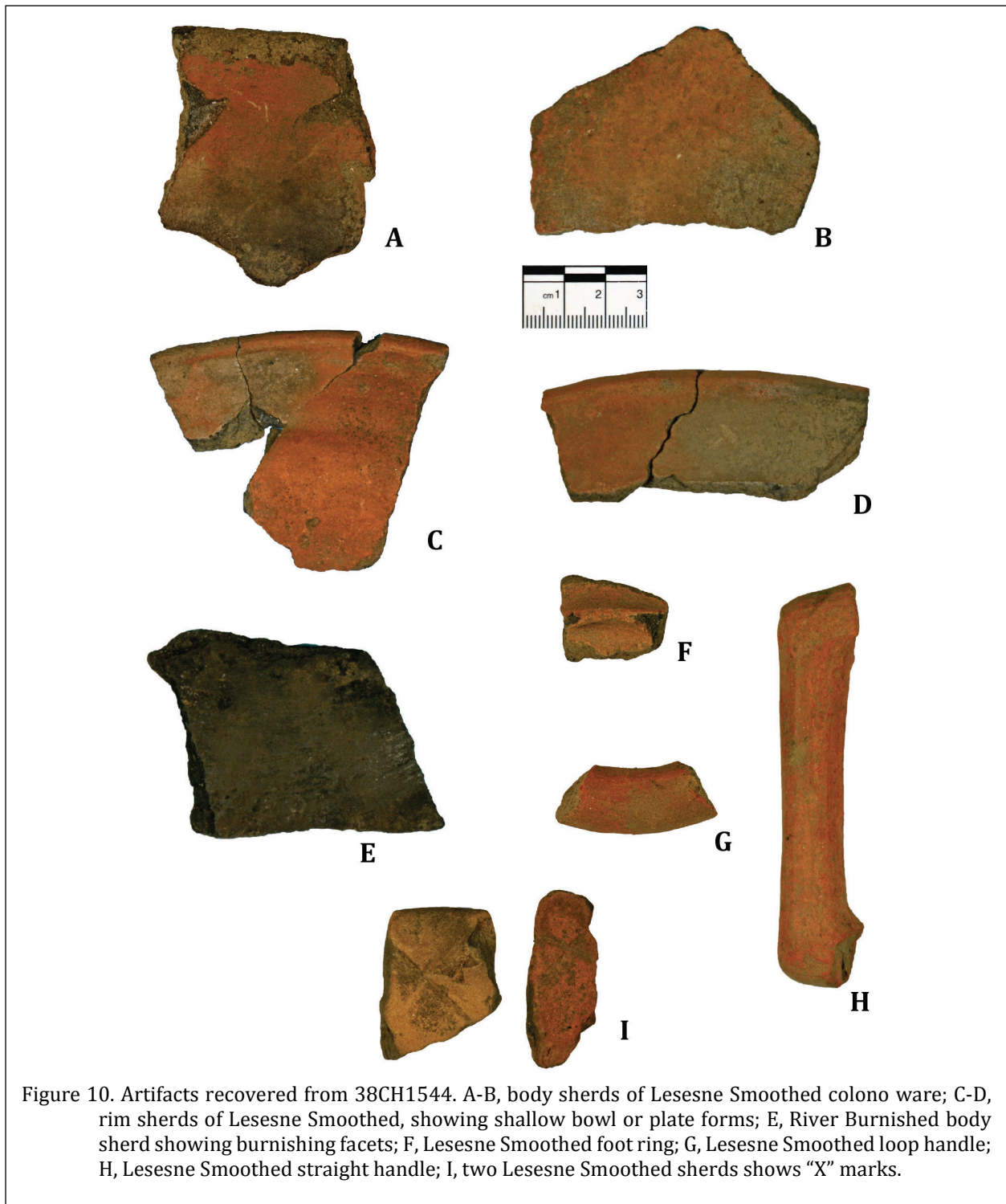
**Table 5.**  
**Artifacts Recovered from Formal Excavations.**

	470R930, lv 1	470R950, lv 1	480R680, pz	480R840, lv 1	490R950, pz	500R785, lv 1	540R960, lv 1	Fea 2	Fea 4	Fea 5		
<b>Kitchen Group</b>											<b>3033</b>	<b>91.3</b>
Chinese porcelain, undecorated		2			3							
Chinese porcelain, blue hand painted	11	10		2	22		13	1				
Chinese porcelain, poly HPOG			2									
White porcelain, undecorated			1						1			
White SG SW	6	4			2	2						
White SG SW, slip dipped	1				2			1				
Delft, undecorated	6	6		3	9	4	3	1				
Delft, polychrome hand painted			1	1	2							
Delft, blue hand painted	1	3	1		9	2	2	2				
Lead glazed slipware	60	38	6	19	65	78	19	15		3		
Creamware, undecorated										1		
Pearlware, undecorated	1											
Whiteware, undecorated	1	1	2		1		1					
Whiteware, sponged			4									
Whiteware, blue edged		1								1		
Jackfield	1	1			2							
Rhenish stoneware		2						1				
Elers ware				1								
Tortoiseshell	1				1							
Westerwald	2	4		3	5							
Gray SG SW	6	3		7	11	3	1	1		2		
Brown SG SW	9	6	1	2	5	10	2	3		1		
Coarse Red earthenware	1	4	1	2	3	2	4					
Spanish olive jar		1										
Burnt refined earthenware		3				2		1		1		
Glass, black	38	44	25	16	52	26	11	27		31		
Glass, aqua	3		1					1		1		
Glass, green					2	2	1					
Glass, brown						3	17					
Glass, clear	2	1	33	10	1	15	2	2		1		
Glass, milk	1		1			1	5					
Glass, manganese	3	1						1				
Kitchenware	2	1	5		2							
Colono ware	223	390	31	140	362	356	195	311	31	16		
<b>Architecture Group</b>											<b>177</b>	<b>5.3</b>
Window glass	2		2		1							
Hinge fragments	1											
Paver					1			3				
Nails, wrought		1	2	4	2	6		7		13		
Nails, machine cut				4	1	2		4				
Nails, wire				2		4						
Nails, UID	11	15	10	3	7	9	21	30	7	2		
<b>Furniture Group</b>											<b>5</b>	<b>0.2</b>
Wall mounted thermometer			2									
Light bulb base			1									
Brass tack						1						
Decorative item					1							
<b>Arms Group</b>											<b>5</b>	<b>0.2</b>
Lead shot					1					1		
Gun part								1				
Gunflint					1			1				
<b>Tobacco Group</b>											<b>82</b>	<b>2.5</b>
Pipe stems, 4/64-inch	2	2	2		1	1	1	1				
Pipe stems, 5/64-inch	7	8	1	2	9	14	1	6				
Pipe stems, 6/64-inch					1			1				
Pipe bowl fragments	1	2	1		2	15		1				
<b>Clothing Group</b>											<b>3</b>	<b>0.1</b>
Buttons								1				
Scissor						1		1				
<b>Personal Group</b>											<b>2</b>	<b>0.1</b>
Knife blade/pocket knife		1										
Writing/counting slate								1				
<b>Activities Group</b>											<b>15</b>	<b>0.5</b>
Farm tools				2								
Fishing gear							1					
Misc. hardware				2		2						
Other	1	1	2	1		1	1	1				









recovered at 38CH2244 and these remains represent wine and beer bottles salvaged or expropriated by the enslaved for other uses.

Incorporated in the clear glass is a small collection of other materials which originated in the owner's house, including at least one glass bowl and a stemmed goblet with an etched floral pattern.

All of the kitchenware items consist of iron kettles. These were designed to either hang over the fire, if the weight could be supported, or to actually sit in the coals of the hearth (Feild 1984:93).

Architectural items are rare, accounting for only 5.3% of the assemblage. Most of these items are unidentifiable nails. Of the identifiable nails, wrought examples are the most common, although they are scarce. Like the small quantity of window glass, it seems unlikely that they were used in the construction of the slave structures, but were perhaps brought into the settlement for other reasons.

The furniture group includes equal proportions of late items (such as the thermometer and light bulbs) and earlier objects, such as the one specimen of furniture hardware and the single brass tack.

Arms-related artifacts account for only 0.5% of the assemblage, but include two English gunflints, a fragment of a gun trigger, and several shot (the one measurable shot is 0.33-inch, today known as 00 buckshot).

Archaeologists frequently interpret finds such as these as providing evidence that slaves possessed weapons, as opposed to shot being found in animals hunted by others, salvage of gunflints for fire starters, or gun fragments being salvaged for other purposes.

During the colonial period there were a variety of laws that constrained enslaved African Americans from possessing weapons. As early as 1704 it was authorized to arm "trusty Slaves" in

times of conflict (McCord 1840:349). This implies that slaves were familiar with weapons, but did not routinely possess them. Only a few years later, laws were enacted requiring whites to routinely search their slave quarters for weapons every two weeks (McCord 1840:353). By 1722 slaves were required to have a written permit, good for no more than a month, to possess a firearm for a range of specific purposes, such as "to hunt and kill game, cattle or vermin . . . keeping off rice-birds and other birds" (McCord 1840:372). By this time, however, it was required that the gun be returned to "their master's chief dwelling house" at night. Moreover, by 1735 only one slave per plantation was to be so licensed (McCord 1840:387, 404). By 1751, the legislature prohibited slaves from carrying weapons beyond the boundaries of their own plantations (McCord 1840:422). In spite of these various restrictions, in 1765 a petition was presented to the legislature by the grand jurors concerning the "too frequent liberty given to negroes in the country to make use of fire arms" (McCord 1840:753).

This creates an ambiguous message. It is clear that whites feared the enslaved possessing firearms and enacted a variety of laws to limit possession. Yet, it seems that, especially in the country, slaves managed to obtain, and use, firearms with some degree of regularity.

Faced with conflicting evidence, it is difficult to determine whether the African Americans at 38CH2244 possessed weapons, were granted occasional use of weapons, or simply acquired various arms-related items from discard.

Eighty-two tobacco-related items were recovered, primarily stems. Pipe bowls are present, but are generally undecorated.

Clothing items are scarce, limited to two scissor fragments and one button (South's Type 31). Curiously, the button type is thought to be nineteenth century by South (1964:125). Unfortunately, too little work has been done by button dating to ascribe much confidence in this.

The personal items include a single

counting slate and a fragment of a pocket knife. Of more interest is the absence of beads from this site, when they were so common at 38CH2242 on the opposite side of the marsh (Trinkley 2017c).

The Activities Group includes a variety of miscellaneous fragments, as is typical. Of particular interest, however, is the one fishing or net weight, which provides some evidence that the marsh was exploited for food resources.

A small fragment of a grinding or millstone was also recovered. This was part of a quern or hand mill that consisted of two stones set one on the other. The lower stone was fixed and the upper had a funnel-shaped hole in the center into which grain would be poured. Close to the edge of the upper stone was another hole to set a handle for rotating the stone. The ground grain worked out from the center between the two stones to the outside (Tunis 1999:36). Querns were an alternative to paying a miller and were used by many colonial families into the nineteenth century (and, in fact, they can still be purchased today).

## Status

Table 6 compares the artifact pattern from 38CH2244 with those obtained from other Mullet Hall sites (38CH2242 and 38CH1543; Trinkley 2017b, 2017c), as well as a few of the most common artifact patterns employed at coastal southern plantations. The pattern at all three sites – at least when considering ceramics – is a good match for the eighteenth century slave artifact pattern.

In fact, the similarity between 38CH2244 and 38CH2242 extends to furniture, arms, clothing,

and activities. The most anomalous site seems to be 38CH1543, where architectural remains are significantly higher than either 38CH2244 or 38CH2242 and tobacco, where again the remains from 38CH1543 are higher than the other two sites.

While there may be some temporal or

Table 6.  
Artifact Pattern Comparison

	38CH2244	38CH2242	38CH1543	revised Carolina Artifact Pattern <sup>1</sup>	Georgia Slave Artifact Pattern <sup>2</sup>	Carolina Slave Artifact Pattern <sup>1</sup>
Kitchen Group	91.3	95.3	75.3	51.8 - 65.0	20.0 - 25.8	70.9 - 84.2
Architectural Group	5.3	0.1	16.7	25.2 - 31.4	67.9 - 73.2	11.8 - 24.8
Furniture Group	0.2	0.0	0.2	0.2 - 0.6	0.0 - 0.1	0.1
Arms Group	0.2	0.5	0.2	0.1 - 0.3	0.0 - 0.2	0.1 - 0.3
Tobacco Group	2.5	3.0	6.6	1.9 - 13.9	0.3 - 9.7	2.4 - 5.4
Clothing Group	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.6 - 5.4	0.3 - 1.7	0.3 - 0.8
Personal Group	0.1	0.7	0.1	0.2 - 0.5	0.1 - 0.2	0.1
Activities Group	0.5	0.5	0.8	0.9 - 1.7	0.2 - 0.4	0.2 - 0.9

<sup>1</sup> Garrow 1982

<sup>2</sup> Singleton 1980

regional explanation for the differences between 38CH2244 and 38CH2242, we believe that all three are representative of remains deposited by enslaved African Americans during the colonial period at Mullet Hall.

## Dating

If we exclude the pearlwares and whitewares, thought to have likely been intrusive, then the mean ceramic date for 38CH2244 is 1734 (Table 7). Even if these few later wares are added, the mean date is increased by only a few years to 1737 since there are so few.

Of course, there are a variety of other dating methods. For example, again ignoring the pearlwares and whitewares, South's Bracketing Dates are 1690 to 1760 (with the terminal date provided by the one creamware). If the creamware is ignored, the terminal date is bumped to 1740.

Since South's method only uses ceramic types to determine the approximate period of occupation, Salwen and Bridges (1977) argue that

Table 7.  
Mean Ceramic Date for the 38CH2244 Excavation Units

Ceramic	Date Range	Mean Date (xi)	(fi)	fi x xi
Overglazed enameled porc	1660-1800	1730	2	3460
Underglazed blue porc	1660-1800	1730	64	110720
Westerwald	1700-1775	1738	14	24332
White salt glazed stoneware	1740-1775	1758	14	24612
White sg sw, slip dipped	1715-1775	1745	4	6980
Rhenish stoneware	1650-1750	1700	3	5100
Eler's ware	1690-1775	1733	1	1733
Lead glazed slipware	1670-1795	1733	303	525099
Jackfield	1740-1780	1760	4	7040
Clouded wares/Tortoiseshell	1740-1770	1755	2	3510
Delft, decorated	1600-1802	1750	24	42000
Delft, plain	1640-1800	1720	32	55040
Creamware, undecorated	1762-1820	1791	1	1791
Total			468	811417
Mean Ceramic Date				1733.797

ceramic types that have high counts are poorly represented in the ceramic assemblage. Because of this valid complaint, a second method – a ceramic probability contribution chart – was used to determine occupation spans. Bartovics (1981) advocates the calculation of probability distributions for ceramic types within an assemblage. Using this technique, an approximation of the probability of a ceramic type contribution to the site's occupation is derived. This formula is expressed:

$$\frac{P_j}{yr.} = \frac{f_j}{F \times D_j}$$

where

P<sub>j</sub> = partial probability contribution,  
f<sub>j</sub> = number of sherds in type j,  
F = number of sherds in sample, and  
D<sub>j</sub> = duration in range of years.

Thus, the Bartovic date range is 1670 to 1795, while the Salwen and Bridges Ceramic Probability Contributions suggest a range from 1654 through 1793. While both suggest a longer date range than South's Bracketing Technique, all

three suggest a very early origin for the site, and the Bartovic and Salwen and Bridges dates suggest the possibility of occupation through the American Revolution until the turn of the century. The near absence of creamware, however, suggests that the site was likely abandoned prior to the Revolution.

Tobacco stem bore diameter is yet another dating technique, although it is applicable only to those sites pre-dating 1780. Thus, 38CH2244 may be at the outside edge of the range. Nevertheless, there are essentially three different dating formulas: Binford's (1962) linear formula, Hanson's formulas (Hanson 1968, recanted in 1971; see also Binford 1971), and the Heighton and Deagan (1971) formula. The three formulas have been tested by McMillan (2010) at 26 sites from Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina. She found that the Heighton and Deagan method proved to be the most accurate, producing formula mean dates closest to the dates assigned using other techniques. She also found all of the techniques worked better in Maryland and Virginia than in North or South Carolina.

Table 8.  
Tobacco Stem Dates for 38CH2244

Bore Diameter	#		
4	4/64	10	40
5	5/64	48	240
6	6/64	2	12
		60	292
average bore diameter		4.866667	
Binford Date			1746
log of average bore diameter		0.687232	
		6.707708	
Heighton and Deagan Date			1748

The resulting dates, shown in Table 8, are close to one another – 1746 and 1748. These are

## FINDINGS

both slightly later than the Mean Ceramic Date of 1734, but still plausible.

Thus, all the dating approaches support 38CH2244 being occupied during the early eighteenth century. When the historic research is consulted, it appears that the site was occupied during, and perhaps before, the occupation of Anthony Mathews.

## Prehistoric Remains

A seemingly large prehistoric collection was obtained from these collections. However, 89.5% of the pottery (n=975) are small sherds. Only 114 sherds are suitable for analysis. Of these, six different series are represented, spanning the Early Woodland (Thom's Creek) through Mississippian (Irene/Pee Dee).

Stamped sherds and an additional 57 small specimens.

The most abundant pottery was Thom's Creek, found in three units, followed by St. Catherine's Fabric Impressed.

Lithics were surprisingly common and although no diagnostic tools were recovered, two chert biface fragments were present. One is a basal fragment of an unknown type. The base has a shallow bifurcation, although both ears are damaged. There is no thinning or smoothing of the base. Debitage included chert, rhyolite, and quartzite. Several examples of what is often called siltstone were also recovered. While not an especially good stone, it is found in a variety of coastal plain collections. The cherts tend to be concentrated in the Allendale-Briar Creek area,

along the South Fork of the Edisto River, and at several Cooper River outcrops (Anderson 1982: 125).

Several fragments of daub were also recovered. While typically archaeologists associate these remains with prehistoric housing, their origin at 38CH2244 is uncertain and they may represent burned clay from historic hearths.

As is the case at nearby 38CH2242, the remains from 38CH2244 suggest occasional settlement or visits along

the marsh from the Early Woodland through Mississippian. None of these settlements, however,

Table 9.  
Prehistoric Artifacts from 38CH2244.

	470R930, lv 1	470R950, lv 1	480R680, pz	480R840, lv 1	490R950, pz	500R785, lv 1	540R660, lv 1	540R960, lv 1	Fea 2	Fea 4	Totals
Thom's Creek											
Reed Punctate	2			21		10					33
Plain							1				1
Deptford											
Check Stamped	1		2	7		3		2		1	16
Cape Fear											
Cord Marked	3	4		1		3					11
Fabric Impressed		3		8							11
Wilmington											
Plain								3			3
Cord Marked				2		3					5
St. Catherine's											
Fabric Impressed						26				4	30
Irene/Pee Dee											
Comp Stamp								3		1	4
Small Sherds	65	114	57	137	300	183	2	85	29	3	975
Other											
Biface frag., chert						1				1	2
Siltstone											4
Quartzite cobble	1	2		1							1
Rhyolite raw material								1		1	1
Chert, cortex				1							1
Chert, tertiary						1	1			1	3
Quartz, cortex				1							1
Quartzite, secondary				2							2
Daub		1		5							6

The unit that was thought might produce a prehistoric assemblage based on the auger testing (480R680) produced only two Deptford Check



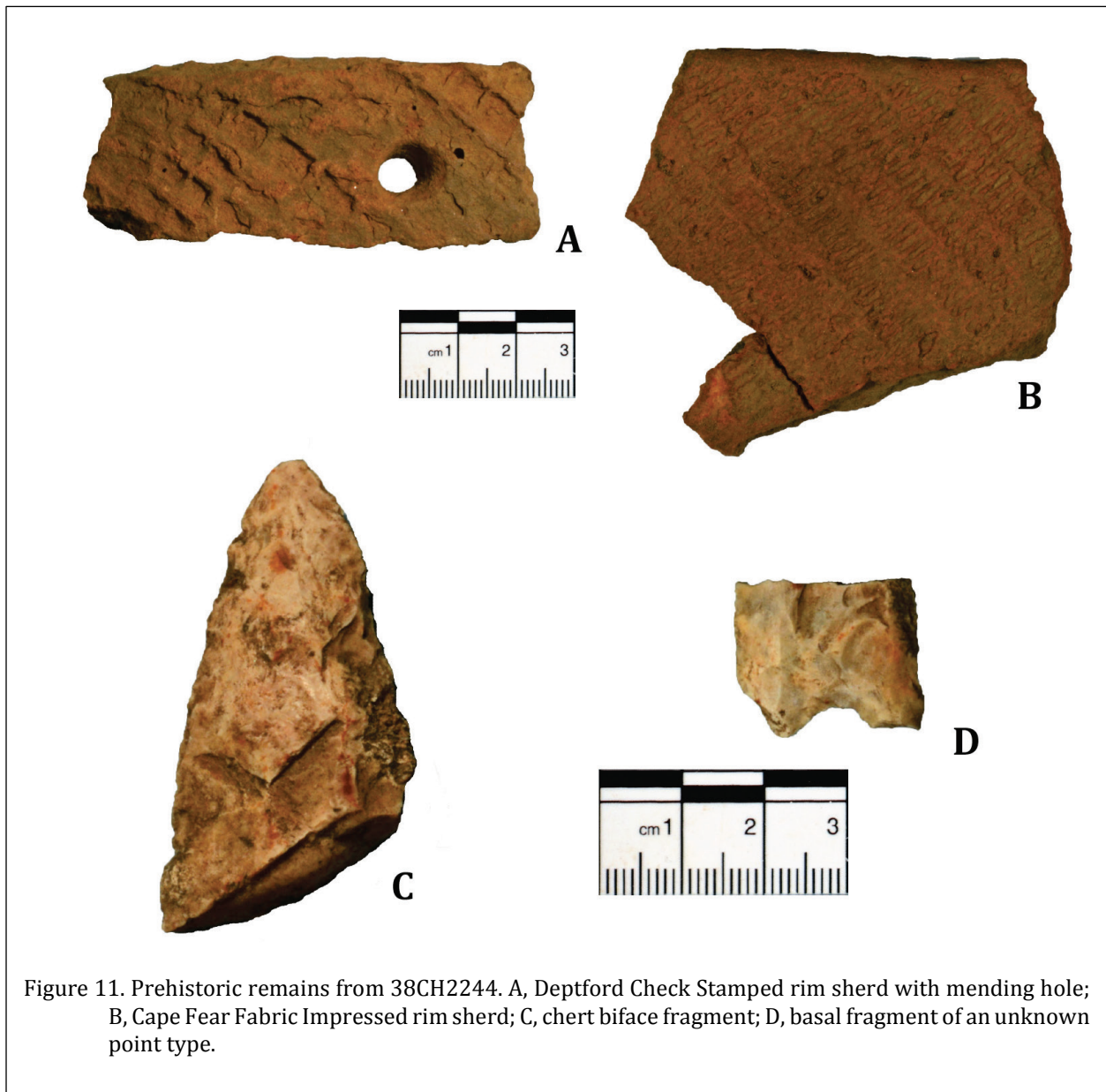


Figure 11. Prehistoric remains from 38CH2244. A, Deptford Check Stamped rim sherd with mending hole; B, Cape Fear Fabric Impressed rim sherd; C, chert biface fragment; D, basal fragment of an unknown point type.

was especially intense and the remains left behind are limited.

## Ethnobotanical Remains

Ethnobotanical remains were recovered from a single flotation sample (Feature 2), as well as being handpicked during excavation (including features and units).

Flotation samples, offering the potential to recover very small seeds and other food remains, provide the most reliable and sensitive subsistence information. Samples of 10 to 20 grams are usually considered adequate, if no bias was introduced in the field.

In the case of Feature 2, the soil sample was 5 gallons in volume (representing soil



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prescreened to remove artifacts and architectural debris to ¼-inch) and was water floated (using a machine assisted system) at Chicora's Columbia laboratories. Prescreening may cause some fragmentation, but it ensures a much larger soil sample than would be the case if artifacts, brick, and mortar were retained.

Hand-picked (or even waterscreened samples in some cases) may produce little information on subsistence since they often represent primarily wood charcoal large enough to be readily collected during either excavation or screening. Such hand-picked samples are perhaps most useful for providing ecological information through examination of the wood species present.

Such studies assume that charcoal from different species tends to burn, fragment, and be preserved similarly so that no species naturally produces smaller, or less common, pieces of charcoal and thus is less likely than others to be represented – an assumption that is dangerous at best. Such studies also assume that the wood was being collected in the same proportions by the site occupants as the charcoal found in the archaeological record—likely, but very difficult to examine in any detail. And finally, an examination of wood species may also assume that the species present represent woods intentionally selected by the site occupants for use as fuel or other purposes – probably the easiest assumption to accept if due

self-pruning of the trees (providing greater availability of some species over others). Smart and Hoffman (1988) provide an excellent review of environment interpretation using charcoal that should be consulted by those particularly interested in this aspect of the study.

The flotation sample was prepared in a manner similar to that described by Yarnell (1974:113-114) and was examined under low magnification (7 to 30x) to identify carbonized plant foods and food remains. Remains were identified based on gross morphological features and seed identification relied on Schopmeyer (1974), United States Department of Agriculture (1971), Martin and Barkley (1961), and Montgomery (1977). The entire sample from this floated amount was examined. The results of the analysis are provided in Table 10.

Wood charcoal is the most common item in the feature, followed by what may generically be termed “trash” (uncarbonized organics, small bone fragments, shell fragments, and small mortar bits).

Several very highly fragmented corn (*Zea mays*) cupules (a cupule is a pocket on the cob in which a pair of grains is borne) or cobs were recovered; no kernels were recovered. Porcher (1863:548-561) provides considerable discussion on the possible benefits of corn, although it is doubtful that it was much used beyond its meal for

Table 10.  
Results of Flotation Sample

Feature	Wood Charcoal		Uncarb. Organic		Bone		Shell & Mortar		Corn Cupules		Peach Pit		Seeds		Total	Seeds
	Wt.	%	Wt.	%	Wt.	%	Wt.	%	Wt.	%	Wt.	%	Wt.	%		
Fea. 2	8.34	69.04	1.29	10.68	0.12	0.99	0.40	3.31	0.85	7.04	1.07	8.86	0.01	0.08	12.08	3 seeds, 2 <i>Brassica</i> sp., 1 <i>Portulaca</i> sp.

care is used to exclude the results of natural fires.

While this method probably gives a fair indication of the trees in the site area at the time of occupation, there are several factors that may bias any environmental reconstruction based solely on charcoal evidence, including selective gathering by site occupants (perhaps selecting better burning woods, while excluding others) and differential

humans and as fodder for cattle and horses. Porcher does mention, “blade tea is quite a favorite diaphoretic used recently by many in the Confederate States in fever – its antiperiodic properties doubtful” (Porcher 1963:548). Hilliard also discusses the importance of corn, observing that by the mid-antebellum corn production along the coast was below that needed for self-sufficiency (Hilliard 1972:158-159).

The peach (*Prunus persica*) is well known in the Southeast. Hilliard (1972:180) comments that it was a favorite food, found fresh, dried, or preserved. Where there were sufficient quantities, peaches were converted into a wine and distilled into a brandy. They were even fed to the hogs. Nevertheless, orchard production was spotty and often poorly tended (Hilliard 1972:181). In South Carolina, the peach is best cultivated in the upstate, although plantation records and diaries are replete with evidence that the peach was grown in the low country. Radford et al. (1968:566) note that the peach is frequently found escaped from cultivation, and fruits from June through July.

*Brassica* sp. includes mustard, turnip, and rape. The latter was identified at the Crowfield slave settlement in the analysis of carbonized residue on colono sherds – so the plant is documented as having been used by African Americans during the colonial period (Trinkley et al. 2003:136-137). That research noted that the plant was often traded as “greens” and the oil, pressed from seeds, was used for cooking.

This seed has also been found from several Charleston, SC urban sites, including the tanyard at the First Trident Site (Trinkley 1983:91, 93).

Thomas Jefferson grew *Brassica*, although his plants may have been mustard or turnips and were used primarily for animal feed – a use that has been documented in at least one other source. Porcher (1863:72-75) provides considerable information concerning mustard and recommends that it be grown on every plantation. Regardless, *Brassica* grows in disturbed habitats and areas of previous cultivation. It produces seeds from March through June (Radford et al. 1968:497).

One seed of purslane (probably common purslane, *Portulaca oleracea*) was recovered. This plant has been associated with numerous Native American sites, but has also been found in the well at Jamestown, Virginia (Steve Archer, personal communication 2008).

Purslane (including the stems, leaves, and flower buds) may be eaten as a green, having a slightly sour and salty taste. Although it can be used fresh in salads or cooked like spinach or other greens, it has a mucilaginous quality and is also used in soups and stews as a thickener.

The hand-picked samples were bagged in the field directly from either the ¼-inch screen or actual feature excavation and were therefore clean and easily sorted. The samples were also examined under low magnification with the larger pieces of wood charcoal identified, where possible, to the genus level using comparative samples, Panshin and de Zeeuw (1970), and Koehler (1917). Wood charcoal samples were broken in half to expose a fresh transverse surface. The results of this analysis are shown in Table 11.

The most abundant wood species is pine (*Pinus* sp.), being found in eight of the 10 collections and being dominant in four. This may reflect the density of the species, or it may only reflect that pine is a good self-pruner, making its wood readily accessible. Other species include hickory (*Carya* sp.) and oak (*Quercus* sp.). Both are found in three of the 10 collections and are dominant in one. All three trees are typical of maritime forests and will be found on generally well drained, sandy soils.

In the early colonial period, Mark Catesby identified a variety of pines, with the “pitch-pine” or longleaf pine growing “on the poorest land”

Table 11.  
Handpicked Ethnobotanical Remains

Provenience	<i>Pinus</i> sp.	<i>Quercus</i> sp.	<i>Carya</i> sp.	<i>Carya</i> nutshell
470R930, lv 1			+	
470R950, lv 1	++	+		
480R680, pz	++			
480R840, lv 1		+		
490R950, pz	+			
500R785, lv 1	+			++
540R960, lv 1	++			
540R960, trow	+			
Feature 2	++	++	+	
Feature 5	+		++	

(Merrens 1977:105). The scene had changed little by mid-century when William Bartram described

his travels and Earley comments that during his travels, Bartram “was rarely out of sight of longleaf pine” (Earley 2004:9).

Well known for their naval stores and often used for building materials, pines – like oaks – might be found in a variety of settings. Although the function of the recovered woods is uncertain, their presence as widely dispersed and carbonized suggests that, for the most part, we are looking at the remains of fuel.

Unlike oak, however, pine was not a particularly good firewood. Depending on the species, the heat index ranges from about 77 to 85, but the wood burns quickly and is smoky. In contrast, oak has a heat index of 82 to 92 (Graves 1919:29). The varying quality of firewood has long been recognized. For example, Reese notes, “the heavy and dense woods give the greatest heat, burn the longest, and have the densest charcoal. To the dense woods belong the oak, beech, alder, birch, and elm; to the soft, the fir, the pine of different sorts, larch, linden, willow, and poplar” (Reese 1847:116).

Lawson during his 1700-1701 travels describes the Native American use of the hickory nut, described as “sweet Kernals” eaten as a powder or used to thicken their venison soup (Lefler 1967:35, 105).

While hickory is not mentioned among authors such as Breeden (1980), Moss (1999), or Sheridan (1985), Porcher (1863:322) describes a wide range of medicinal and other uses. Morton (1974:164) also mentions that it has been found in at least one plantation recipe book and the nut meat, when ground, was used as a remedy for indigestion.

# Analysis of 540R660

This unit is discussed separately because it is so radically different from the other units at 38CH2244 – not only in age and quantity, but also in depositional history. It is thought to represent remains originating in the Charleston Navy Yard and brought to the site to feed Limehouse's pigs. Oral history tells us that these scraps were brought in during the Second World War.

The quantity of materials is staggering. Roughly 45 artifacts were recovered per cubic foot of soil in the unit, with a total of 1,353 specimens recovered from this single 5-foot unit (Table 12).

## 540R660

### Kitchen Group

The vast majority of the recovered artifacts are kitchen-related (1,203, 88.9%) and this seems consistent with refuse thought to represent mess hall scraps intended for the pigs.

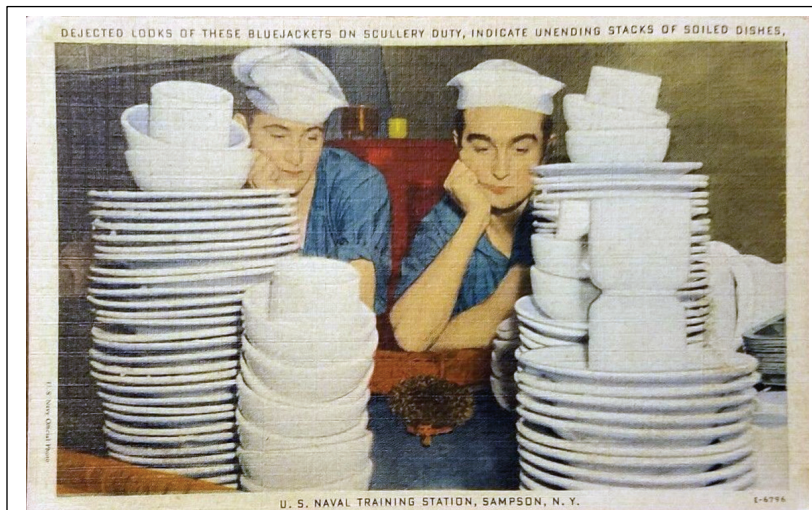


Figure 12. Postcard illustrating ceramics used by enlisted sailors.

While not the most common item, the heavy “Hotel Ware” military whiteware ceramics are perhaps the most characteristic. The Navy purchased different ceramics for the enlisted and officers. The enlisted mess would use plain white ceramics, while officers used ceramics with one or two dark navy strips (depending on the place setting), often in conjunction with some other emblem (a fouled anchor for wardroom officers, “USN” for warrant officers, a square knot for junior grade officers, and so on).

A wide range of place settings were produced, including 10-inch dinner plates; 9-inch lunch plates; 7-inch salad plates; 6-inch bread and butter plates; 9-inch soup bowls; 5¼-inch serving bowls; 7-inch cereal bowls; 4-inch side bowls; 8-inch oblong celery, relish or butter dishes; both formal and informal dinner tea or coffee cups, with handles; bouillon cups with double handles; 6-inch saucers; and 3¼-inch watch standing mugs without handles. There were also a variety of other serving vessels and even demitasse cups. While cups had a single blue line; plates, saucers, and bowls would have double lines.

The bulk of the assemblage suggests ceramics used in the enlisted mess, although at least 17 fragments had blue stripes and would have been used by officers.

Also present are a few examples of civilian “hotel ware.” They are perhaps examples of privately owned ceramics integrated into the naval yard’s disposal program.

## ANALYSIS OF 540R660

Table 12.  
Artifacts Recovered from 540R660

	540R660, lv 1	Midden 1		
<b>Kitchen Group</b>			1233	89.0
White porcelain, undecorated	1			
Whiteware, undecorated	10			
Whiteware, stamped	1			
Whiteware ("Hotel Ware"), undecorated	143	2		
Whiteware ("Hotel Ware"), blue stripe	6	3		
Whiteware ("Hotel Ware"), double blue stripe	11			
Whiteware ("Hotel Ware"), red "Medical Department"	1			
Yellow "Hotel Ware" red trim		1		
Glass, black	3			
Glass, aqua	52	4		
Glass, brown	23			
Glass, clear	673	5		
Glass, milk	194	2		
Utensil	5	10		
Tableware, clear glass	45	2		
Kitchenware, plastic	9			
Kitchenware, metal	27			
<b>Architecture Group</b>			21	1.5
Window glass	14			
Door stop and hook, brass	1			
Plumbing parts, brass	5			
Nails, wire	1			
<b>Furniture Group</b>			11	0.8
Light bulb fragments	11			
<b>Arms Group</b>			2	0.1
Shell casing	1			
Shotgun shell base, brass	1			
<b>Tobacco Group</b>			1	0.1
Lighter flint holder, plastic	1			
<b>Clothing Group</b>			4	0.3
Buttons	1			
Shoe heel, rubber	2			
Shoe string, woven nylon	1			
<b>Personal Group</b>			13	0.9
Fountain pen nib	1			
Toothbrush, plastic	2			
Hair comb, plastic	10			
<b>Activities Group</b>			100	7.2
Construction tools	1			
Farm tools	2			
Misc. hardware	22			
Other	73	2		



Table 13 shows the range of vessel forms recovered from the unit. In spite of there being clearly identified vessel sizes in the literature, we found considerable variation. This is natural and within the tolerances established by the military. Careful inspection of Figure 12, for example, shows some variation in the stacked dishes. It may also represent variation by manufacturer.

rims and vertical panels.

All of the utensils recovered were stamped on their face, "U.S.N." The stainless steel specimens (three spoons) were from an enlisted mess, while the two silver plated examples (a spoon and a knife) would have been used in the officer's mess.

Table 13.  
Vessel Forms and Sizes Recovered from 540R660

Table 13. Vessel Forms and Sizes Recovered from 540R660																			
	Flat Ware							Hollow Ware					Serving						
	Dinner 10"	Lunch 9"	Salad 7"	Bread 6"	Saucer 6"	4½"	5"	Soup 9"	Cereal 7"	Side 4"	Cup w/ Handle 3½"	Cup w/out Handle 3¼"	Med Serving 5½"	Deep Serving 10"	5"	5¼"	5½"	6"	6¾"
Enlisted	3	1	2		2	1	1	4		2	2	7	10		2	1	3	8	1
Officer	1	1	3		2						2			1					
Medical					1														
Non-Military			1								3								

What Table 13 clearly illustrates is that the assemblage present at 38CH2244 represents a broad range of vessel forms. About the only items missing are very large serving vessels and cereal bowls. It is likely that this is a by-product of the Charleston Navy Base having a cafeteria-style mess hall, precluding the necessity for large serving vessels. The smaller vessels may have been used for condiments or side items. Although no 7-inch cereal bowls were identified, a wide variety of other bowls are present.

The metal kitchenware items include 25 metal lids, including specimens of bottle and can lids. Most are almost certainly from food products, although one might be from a tobacco container (but is included here with kitchen items). Also recovered were 11 "tin can" body fragments.

What appears to be a stainless steel coaster manufactured by Vollrath was found, as well as a cluster of stainless steel fibers, known as a "scrubber ball" for pots and pans.

Four black plastic fragments were recovered, representing two shaker lids for items such as salt and pepper.

## Architectural Group

Only one wire nail was recovered, along with a heavy brass door stop with integral hook to hold the door open. The weight and size of the item is consistent with a commercial (or government) building, rather than a residential structure. Also placed in this category are five brass plumbing parts and pipes, including several that were likely toilet feed tubes.

## Furniture Group

All of the items in this category are light

Clear container glass is the most common item in the kitchen group, accounting for 673 items, including one intact bottle. The assemblage includes a wide range of container glass, including 11 jars, 11 bottles, a sauce bottle, one Tabasco bottle, one soy sauce bottle, one Nehi soda bottle, and two condiment bottles. Four plastic twist tops were recovered. Only one was molded with "McILHENNY" on the top; the others, while similar (and red in color), were all plain.

The tableware items include at least nine tumblers, all of clear glass, and at least one pitcher. Most of the tumblers were plain, although one ribbed specimen was present as were five with rounded lips. The pitcher exhibited a scalloped

bulb fragments, including eight fragments of the electrical foot contact and three glass mounts from the interior of the bulbs.

## **Arms Group**

Only two specimens were recovered, one is a shotgun shell with a "REM-UMC" headstamp. It is unlikely that this was contributed by the Navy scraps and was likely dropped by individual hunting on the property.

The other item is far more interesting – a brass shell with a headstamp "WCC 1943 45-70 MKI". This was a blank cartridge used by the Navy for line throwing. The headstamp indicates it was manufactured by Western Cartridge Company in 1943.

## **Tobacco Group**

The only tobacco item is a red plastic Indian head holder for Ronson flints. While we have been unable to identify specific dates for the packaging, it seems likely that it post-dates WWII given the use of plastic.

## **Clothing Group**

Four clothing items were recovered from the unit excavations. Two are men's rubber half heels. One is identified as "Made in U.S.A." suggesting it post dates the 1930 tariff act and had 4/8 molded on its face, meaning the heel height was ½-inch. The other has only 3/8 molded on it. The remaining shoe-related item was a woven nylon shoe string.

The final item recovered is a South's Type 15 one-hole bone button. While this, like a few other items, likely predates the Naval dumping, it exhibits pig chew marks.

## **Personal Group**

A fragment of a plastic fountain pen with brass nib was recovered, although it was heavily chewed by pigs. Fountain pens were introduced and became widely available in the late 1880s, although the use of plastic was not introduced until

the 1920s and 1930s.

Two plastic toothbrush fragments of gray or blackplastic were recovered. The head had white bristles. The mended specimen is characteristic of those being used in the 1940s and 1950s (Mattick 1993). Both fragments had been chewed on by pigs.

The largest collection in the Personal Group consisted of plastic combs. Ten were recovered, including one marbled opaque green, one translucent brown, seven opaque black, and one translucent aqua. The brown comb was distinct, being a "swivel comb" – a comb that swiveled into an attached carrying case. Freinkel (2011:6, 25) notes that it was WWII that brought plastic out of labs into the real world, as the military urged the substitution of plastic for other materials and ordered that all government furnished combs would be made of plastic.

## **Activities Group**

This assortment of artifacts looks something like a hardware store, with electrical connectors, various steel and brass bolts, screws, nuts, and washers, various fragments of iron, copper, stainless steel wire, D-cell battery fragments, aluminum rivets, multiple fragments of asbestos, glassine paper, and lantern glass.

The asbestos is of special interest since it was found as a burlap-like fabric, miscellaneous fragments, and round pads.

Also recovered was what is known as woven mesh cloth composed of stainless steel. It was a "reverse Dutch weave" with very fine warp wires positioned tightly together, bound by a thicker weft wire. This was likely a specialized filter, perhaps for fuel.

We also placed a small number of specialized medical items in this category, including a pipette fragment, a syringe plunger head, and a mercury thermometer fragment.

Few of these items likely originated in a

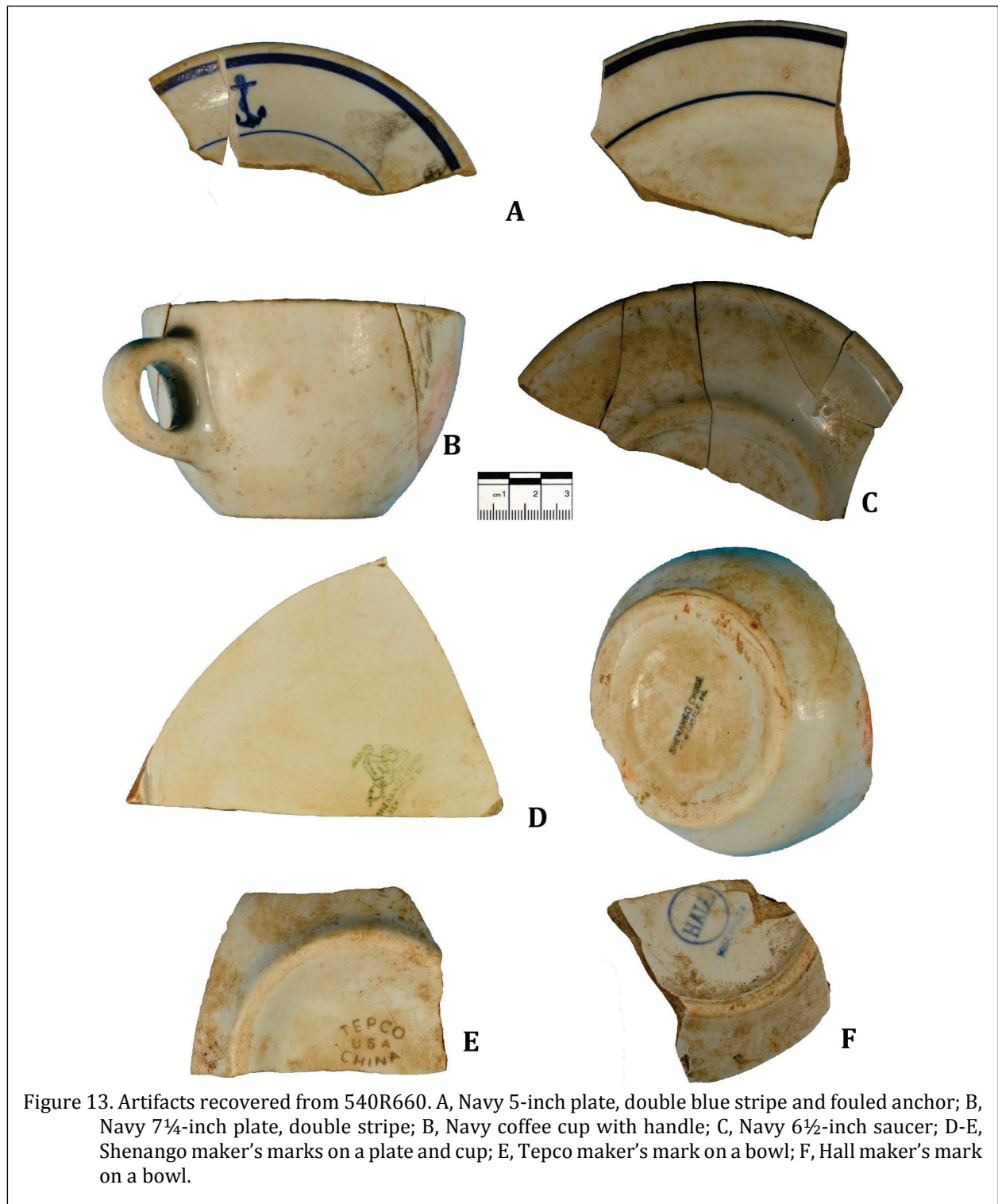


Figure 13. Artifacts recovered from 540R660. A, Navy 5-inch plate, double blue stripe and fouled anchor; B, Navy 7¼-inch plate, double stripe; C, Navy 6½-inch saucer; D-E, Shenango maker's marks on a plate and cup; E, Tepco maker's mark on a bowl; F, Hall maker's mark on a bowl.

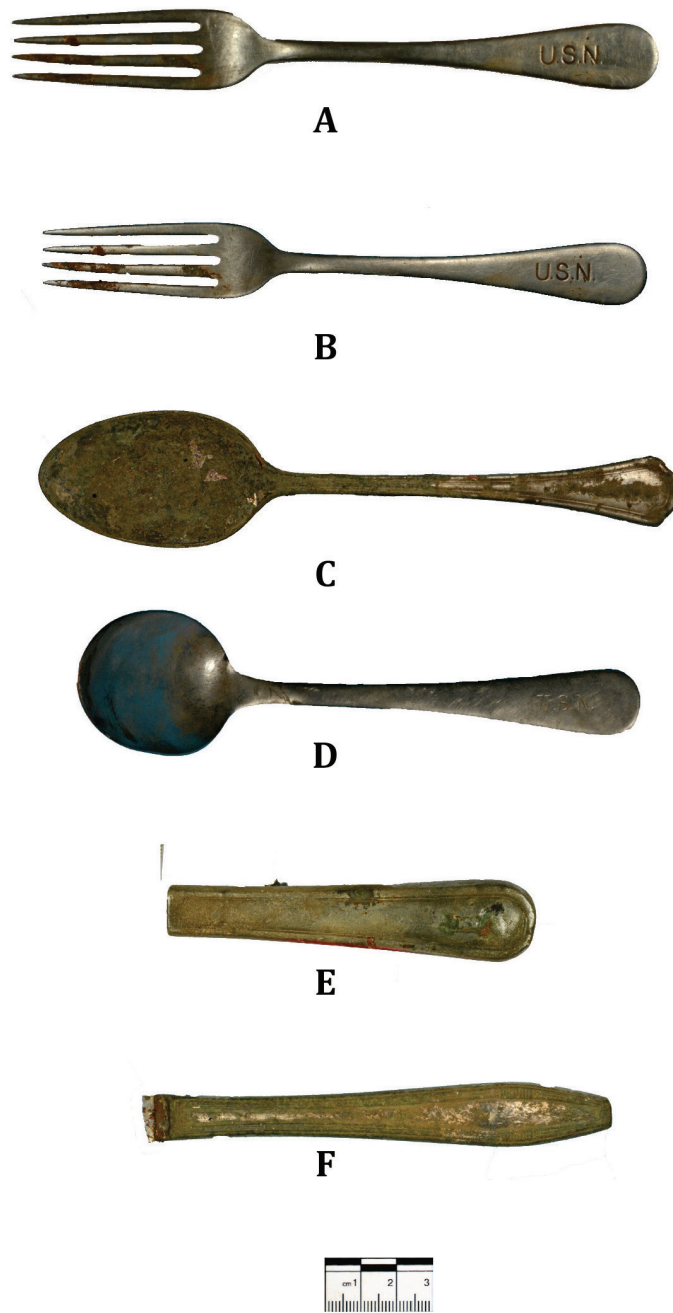


Figure 14. Utensils recovered from 540R660. A-B, stainless steel forks for enlisted use, stamped "U.S.N."; B, silver plated oval soup spoon for officers' use, stamped "U.S.N."; C, stainless steel round soup spoon for enlisted use, stamped "U.S.N."; E, silver plated knife handle for officers' use, stamped "U.S.N."; F, silver plated knife handle for officers' use, no marking.





mess hall, indicating that the deposits at 38CH2244 represent mixed trash.

## The Midden

The offshore midden appears to represent a dump pile, perhaps where refuse was stored pending shoveling into the pig pen. It does not appear to be erosional since it is, even today, a discrete pile. The artifacts, all surface collected, are virtually identical to those identified from the excavations. They were specifically selected to enhance the existing collection.

Additional Navy ceramics and maker's marks (one for Iroquois and two for Shenango) were recovered, with a range approximating the latter half of the range found in the excavations.

Glass items included fragments of an A-1 sauce bottle manufactured by Brand & Co.; a lid for a Heinz 57 condiment jar; an intact Sheaffer Skrip ink bottle; a bottle manufactured by Knox Bottling Company in Jackson, Mississippi; and three Coca-Cola bottles, bottled in Augusta, Sumter, and Charleston.

The offshore midden collection also produced nine utensils, including five knives, two spoons, one fork, and a single handle. Both stainless steel (for enlisted) and silver plated (for officers) were recovered. Marks included "Reed & Barton," as well as WBW. The former is documented as going out of business in 1994, although beginning date has been identified. Like the other military examples, these all were stamped "U.S.N."

## Faunal Remains

The faunal remains have only briefly been examined. There are 382 g of bone from the excavation unit. This includes 1 g of bone that is likely natural, prehistoric, or eighteenth century (representing turtle and a small mammal). There are 56 g of bone that evidences one or more saw marks, including one recognizable T-bone cut. The thickness of the remaining cuts range from only 0.4 inch to nearly 1-inch, with the median being 0.7-inch. Overall, the bone is heavily fragmented,

scored, and eroded. We believe that much of this erosion is the result of smaller bone passing through the pigs' digestive tracts.

In the marsh, the midden produced 873 g of beef bone and 105 g of pig, suggesting the beef, not pork, was the primary food on the Naval base. While two T-bone cuts were identified, the bulk of the remains were shoulder or leg cuts. While there is considerable variability, Colley (2006:51) suggests these would be third class or lower cut, typically used for beef soup, cheap beef stew, or beef stocks.

Thus, we may evidence of both first class cuts, such as T-bone steaks, as well as lower rated cuts. Whether this reflects different menus for white and blacks, officers and enlisted, military and civilian, we don't know. Also of some importance is that there was no evidence sixth class cuts, from the skull, lower forelimb, or lower hind limb.

## The Pattern

The vast majority of the recovered artifacts – 89% - are items associated with kitchen refuse such as ceramics, utensils, and bottle and container glass. Van Wormer recognized that, "assemblages from commercial establishments, especially restaurants and saloons, are often dominated by consumer items, with other activity groups only minimally represented" (Van Wormer 1996:311). In fact, he suggests 80 to 90% of the assemblage will be ceramics, container glass, and so forth (Van Wormer 1996:315). A characteristic separating commercial from residential occupations is the abundance of "undecorated wares." Garrow (2000:199) has made a similar observation, based on his extensive work at urban Tennessee sites.

Certainly the assemblage is far more indicative of commercial restaurant or cafeteria than any military function. Although the utensils and ceramics have Navy markings, only the one artifact – the line throwing cartridge – can be associated with strictly military activities.

We believe that the trash incorporated

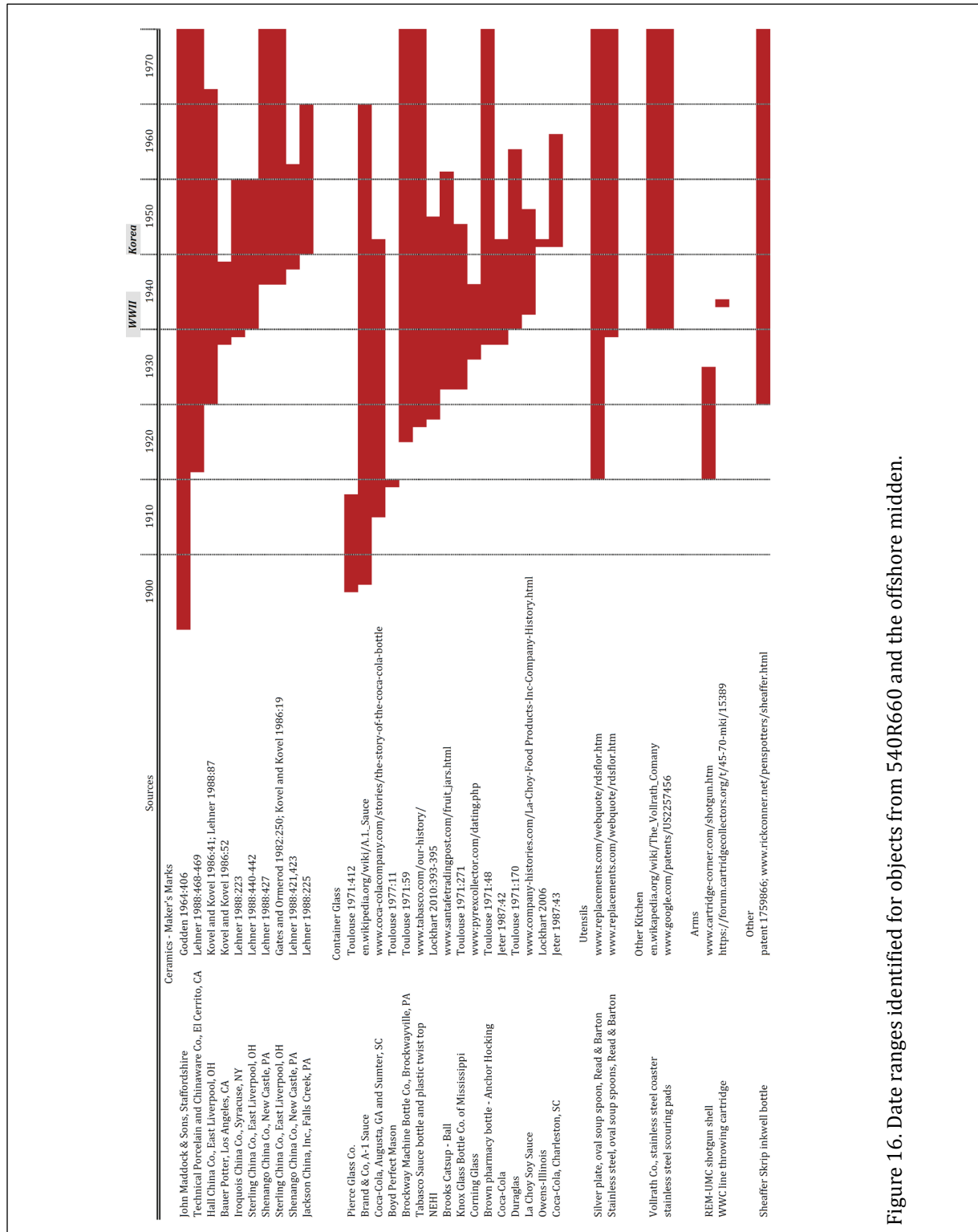


Figure 16. Date ranges identified for objects from 540R660 and the offshore midden.

kitchen refuse, including food and broken dishes, as well as items dumped off trays in haste or intentionally, such as utensils. One source estimates that today restaurants spend about \$500 million on lost silverware (*Houston Chronicle*, July 11, 2010) and another suggests the industry standard is about 2-3% loss of utensils per year (*New York Times*, February 27, 2002).

Even some of the remaining 11% - such as light bulbs or building hardware - could conceivably end up in kitchen trash. Similarly, items such as combs and empty flint package could be left on a trash and be emptied into the garbage. The activities artifacts, representing 7.2% of the collection, seem out of place. Were hardware items left on trays or the result of making repairs in the cafeteria building? Or were these items mingled in through less than careful separation of trash during collection? The latter explanation seems most reasonable.

## Dating

Figure 16 illustrates the date range identified for temporally diagnostic items recovered from the excavations and offshore midden.

A few of the items likely predate the deposit, such as the Boyd Perfect Mason and the item marked Pierce Glass Company. They may be scatter from the nearby cemetery (38CH1549) or have been dropped by farmers.

Two of the items have a very narrow date range, such as the Owens-Illinois mark from 1952 and the line throwing cartridge with a headstamp of 1943. The remainder of the items have much longer periods of manufacture and off course can

also exhibit time lag.

While 24 of the 33 items date from WWII (1939-1945), a few more (27) date from the Korean War (1950-1953). Regardless, if we assume the deposit occurred during a relatively short period, the terminus post quem would be 1951, the



Figure 17. Navy yard cafeteria, Building 63, after completion in 1941.

beginning date for two Coca-Cola bottles and the Owens-Illinois mark.

Thus, it appears that the deposit was created in the early 1950s, not during WWII as previously reported by oral history accounts.

## Putting the Deposit in Context

The Charleston Naval Shipyard was established in 1901, with the workforce growing slowly to about 1,200 by the time the United States entered WWI in 1917. During the war, the number increased to 6,000 civilian employees (Hamer 1998). It was also in 1919 that the yard's first cafeteria was opened. Because the facility was

so remote from Charleston, there were no restaurants ("except for one or two tiny and dirty restaurants outside the yard"). The new "yard cafeteria" was operated by civilian employees "and feeds not only civil employees, but any officer or man in the yard who desires to take his meals there" (Bureau of Medicine and Surgery 1919:3). Described as "commodious" and offering hot meals at a "minimum cost," the facility was well received.

Whether the Navy was using the City's incineration facilities (Anonymous n.d.:1) during the early years is not known, although it is known that a solid waste landfill exists on the south end of the closed base along Shipyard Creek (known today as SWMU 9). This landfill was used from the 1930s to the early 1970s (Meredith Amick, S.C. Department of Health and Environmental Control, personal communication 2017).

In 1941 a new "Yard Cafeteria" known as Building 63 was completed at 2090 Avenue B. It is described in the National Register nomination as a "two-story, poured-concrete, industrial building with a flat roof" and "industrial metal sash hopper windows" (Cannan et al. 2006)(Figure 17).

By 1944, the number of employees at the Naval Yard increased to 26,000 (Hamer 1998). It seems likely the base landfill was being used.

On October 19, 1953 the Yard Cafeteria was integrated. Prior to this "colored employees were . . . confined to the first floor of the building and whites used the second floor" (Mitchell 1953:585). The article also explains that "industrial employees" ate at noon, while "clerical employees" ate at 12:30 pm. No mention was made of officers or enlisted, or any meal other than lunch.

We have not determined how many officers and enlisted were at the shipyard at any one time. Nor do we know if Navy personnel ate at Building 63 or had other facilities. Nor do we know if the Yard Cafeteria used Naval plates and silverware. There are a number of questions left unanswered by the Mullet Hall deposit. Most

perplexing is the arrangement between Limehouse and the Navy. It seems reasonable that Limehouse must have been paying the Navy for their scraps, since otherwise they would have gone into the existing landfill at SWMU 9 along Shipyard Creek.





# Assessment

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## Data Sets

### Prehistoric

The prehistoric remains were not considered a contributing element to the site's "potential eligibility" when originally discovered. This work confirms that the data sets for these remains are very limited.

While a broad range of prehistoric pottery was recovered, the numbers are not great and the materials are widely dispersed. Most of the pottery is heavily fragmented by plowing. No features were identified in either the formal excavations or the stripping to identify boundaries of 38CH1549.

The presence of prehistoric lithics is always interesting on the stone-poor coast. We have a variety of extralocal resources, including several varieties of chert, rhyolite, quartzite, and siltstone. The fragmentary tool shows intensive use and a failed effort to resharpen, suggesting that stone was a valued commodity. Nevertheless, absence a temporal context, these tools provide only limited interpretative usefulness.

We dismiss these materials from further consideration because of their lack of clear integrity.

### Colonial

Colono wares are the largest data set at 38CH2244, although they are compromised by extensive plowing and fragmentation. Nevertheless, they were sufficient to be typed as Lesesne, with a minor component of River Burnished. Data were obtained suggesting the bulbous rim form is more common among flat rims

than when rounded rims are present. A variety of forms were identified, including some obvious European imitations with shallow plate forms and handles. Also present were several sherds marked with an "X" sign similar to those reported by Ferguson (1992).

European ceramics were also present in a greater proportion than at 38CH1543 or 38CH2242. They, too, however, were heavily fragmented by plowing.

Other artifacts are less common, although that is attributed to the site's probable function as an eighteenth century slave settlement. The density of the colono pottery has produced an artifact pattern that does not match those found previously at eighteenth century slave settlements. We suggest this may be the result of the very early date of the settlement, coupled with site-specific features that are not entirely clear. The pattern is similar to 38CH2242 and 28CH1543.

Faunal remains are uncommon, although limited ethnobotanical remains provide evidence of corn cultivation, the availability of peaches, and possible use of some wild resources. Other specialized remains, such as pollen and phytoliths, absent features, were not recovered. Even mortar and bricks are not common, although this is likely the result of earthfast housing.

Features are not common. Only one was identified in formal excavations and only two were added by stripping associated with the effort to establish the boundaries of 38CH1549. Two of the features identified were structural remains. One is an odd hearth formation seen previously only at a late colonial slave settlement on Spring Island (Trinkley 1991). The crude architecture may have survived later there than on Johns Island because

of the former's isolation. The other feature at 38CH2244 appears to be a portion of a wall trench structure. Only the northeast corner was identified, with most of the northern wall and a portion of the eastern wall destroyed by plowing.

Therefore, the data sets at 38CH2244 appear to be limited to artifacts such as ceramics, most specifically colono wares.

## Naval Trash

The Naval trash is from a secondary deposit. A combination of archaeological research, historical research, and oral history suggests that the materials, primarily cafeteria scraps, were purchased by Limehouse to feed his pigs. The analysis of the artifacts provides an interesting – and largely unresearched – artifact pattern. It also contributes to our understanding of the Charleston Naval Base. Consequently, we are very pleased with the results and believe the effort to document these findings are important.

Nevertheless, the data sets seem sparse. We do not anticipate features, although the offshore midden may qualify. The deposits, while deep, are entirely mixed by pig rooting and perhaps by subsequent plowing (although the unit is so deep, no plow scars are visible).

The variety of questions raised seem to be likely better addressed through historic research, examining contract documents and collecting oral history, than through additional research. Consequently, we dismiss these remains from further consideration.

## Historic Context

We have provided a brief synopsis of the historic context, focusing on eighteenth century owners such as James Witter, about whom little is known. We suspect rice cultivation, but we have almost no documentations that would help reconstruct daily plantation activities.

Given the early age of this settlement (with dates from the early eighteenth century),

38CH2244 tells a very important story about the enslaved African Americans laboring on the island. It is especially useful when compared to 38CH1543 and 38CH2242, both settlements where African Americans from roughly the same period lived.

Its small size seems to stand in contrast with other sites, such as Yaughan and Curriboo, where relatively large number of slaves were housed in a village-like setting (Wheaton et al. 1983).

## Research Questions

Given the dearth of historic records and accounts, there are abundant research questions, many focusing on the lifeways of the enslaved: In what type of structures did they live? How many structures were present at 38CH2244? What is the functional and social difference between those with poorly constructed lime hearths and those with only wall trench evidence? Can it be determined how many of these structures are rebuilds? Can the length of the occupation be estimated? How many enslaved African Americans may have lived there? What were the foodways of these African Americans? Left to their own devices, did they subsist primarily on game or fish they captured? What evidence of plant foods may be present? Is there any evidence – artifactual or ecofactual – for rice cultivation? How were lifeways in this small village different from those in the nineteenth century? Might these isolated settlements have promoted the maintenance of African religions or traditions? Why were there multiple small hamlets rather than a single village? Were these hamlets based on family connections or proximity to work?

The vast majority of these questions, we believe, are significant. Archaeologists have focused on easy answers, taking one or two slave settlements and stretching the data to fit virtually every other slave settlement of that general time period. Thus, when we think of eighteenth century slave settlements, we think of the large villages of Yaughan and Curriboo; we do not think of a small hamlet such as 38CH2244.

## Integrity

Regardless of how important the questions may be, it is essential that we have some likelihood of addressing those questions with the data at hand. This makes the assessment process more difficult since good questions are easy to come by, while good data are far more difficult to find.

At 38CH2244, the extent of plowing has affected a broad range of data sources. Artifacts are both fragmented and dispersed. All artifacts, but ethnobotanical and zooarchaeological remains in particular, are likely to be damaged and made more difficult to recover. The depth of plowing has affected the potential for feature recovery and in spite of both formal excavations and stripping; only three features were identified.

The presence of the Navy deposits have also affected a corner of the site and recovery of any eighteenth century material in this area is virtually impossible.

We do not believe that the site possesses the integrity to permit the block excavations necessary to identify features, especially structures.

## Recommendations

While interior areas may be affected by neighborhood construction, the data sets available for investigation are limited and integrity has been compromised by plowing and other site uses. Consequently, after this careful consideration, we believe that 38CH2244 is not eligible for inclusion on the National Register of Historic Places.

Although we do not propose additional investigations at 38CH2244, we believe that the information already obtained will be valuable for comparison with other eighteenth century African American settlements at Mullet Hall and on Johns Island. In particular, we hope that additional research will help us better understand the artifact pattern exhibited by this site.

It is possible that unusual concentrations or types of archaeological remains will be encountered in the area during construction. As always, the developer's contractors should be advised to report any discoveries of artifact concentrations (such as bottles, ceramics, or projectile points) or brick rubble to the project engineer, who should in turn report the material to the State Historic Preservation Office, or Chicora Foundation (the process of dealing with late discoveries is discussed in 36CFR800.13(b)(3)). No further land altering activities should take place in the vicinity of these discoveries until they have been examined by an archaeologist and, if necessary, have been processed according to 36CFR800.13(b)(3).

## ASSESSMENT

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